FILADELFIA, PAR. | CHORTITZA, U. S. S. R. | NEWTON, KANSAS

STEINBACH, MAN.

SANTA RITA, MEX.

VOLENDAM, PAR.

HALBSTADT, MOL.

WITMARSUM, NETH.

ORENBURG, U. S. S. R.

KITCHENER, ONT.

BAD OLDESLOE

MENNONITE HISTORICAL ATLAS

William Schroeder
Helmut T. Huebert

SECOND EDITION

HENDERSON, NEB. | SHIPYARD, BELIZE | DANZIG, POLAND

MENNONITE HISTORICAL ATLAS

MENNONITE HISTORICAL ATLAS

SECOND EDITION
REVISED AND EXPANDED

MAPS BY
WILLIAM SCHROEDER

TEXT AND SOME
MAPS BY
HELMUT T. HUEBERT

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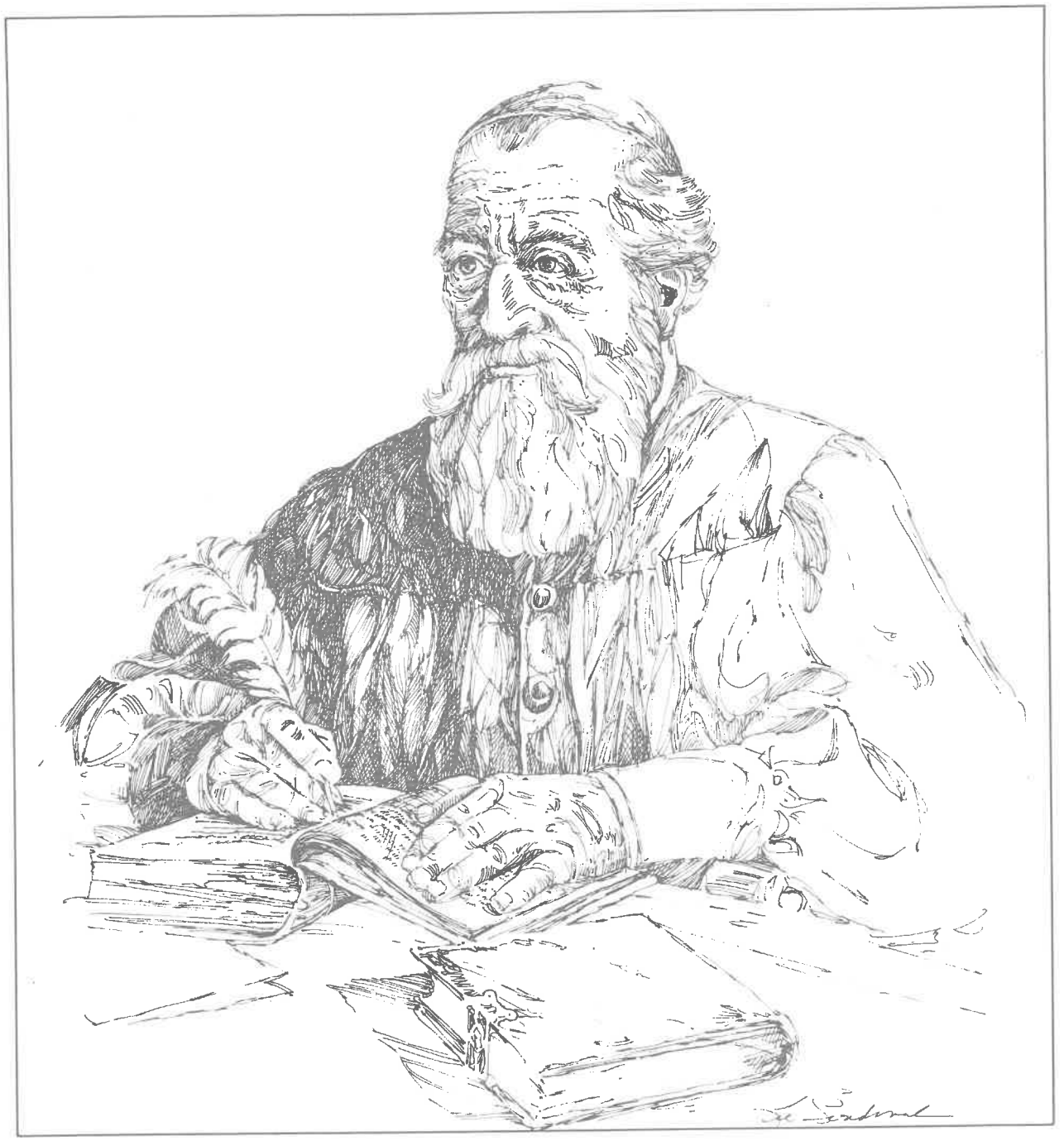

MENNO SIMONS (1496-1561)

Menno Simons, born in Witmarsum, Friesland, likely a priest in the Premonstratensian Order, left the Catholic church in 1536, soon to become the leader of the persecuted Anabaptists. Between 1536 and 1554 Menno succeeded in gathering and organizing the peaceful wing of the Anabaptists, saving it from extinction and adding, through baptism, many new members. He must be recognized as the leading effective apologist of the Anabaptist movement, which eventually was named after him. Menno emphasized evangelism, also the inseparable nature of "word" and "deed". There was a strong commitment to Christ through believers' baptism and to a scriptural peace position. The community of believers had both privileges and obligations within the group and to the world at large. His motto and ours is:

"For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ"
I Corinthians 3:11.

THANKS

We give thanks to the many individuals who have contributed to the production of this atlas. George K. Epp and A. David Schroeder have been excellent sources of information. Lawrence Klippenstein and the Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives, Abe Dueck and the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, both of Winnipeg, have been most accommodating, as has the staff of the Geography and Map Department of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

We also express appreciation to Augusta Schroeder and Dorothy Huebert, whose households have been strewn with maps for the past few years while this atlas project was in progress.

FOREWORD

It was a significant event for Mennonite historiography, when in 1990 the first **Mennonite Historical Atlas**, by Helmut T. Huebert and William Schroeder, became available to scholars and history enthusiasts. The 87 maps of the first collection of Mennonite "cartography" were mostly drawn from memory by Russian Mennonite emigrants many years after they had abandoned their villages. Other maps were added by William Schroeder, who visited Russian Mennonite villages during the "Perestroika Era". But even at that time it was still impossible to do research for documents or details on maps. It is therefore to the credit of the authors of the first atlas that they did not give up in spite of the enormous problems they faced.

Six years later, 1996, Helmut T. Huebert and William Schroeder present a revised and significantly expanded new atlas in memory of the founder of the Mennonite Church, who was born 500 years ago. It is a very appropriate way to celebrate the anniversary of the Reformer Menno Simons with a collection of "road signs" along the way of the community he saved from destruction. The maps of the new **Mennonite Historical Atlas** follow the road of development and expansion of the Mennonite faith community from Switzerland, Holland and Germany to Russia, the United States, Canada, and to Latin America. Some maps of the first atlas have been revised and errors eliminated where reliable data became available.

Obviously, this vastly improved atlas will not eliminate all errors on our maps because we are still in the early stages of Mennonite cartography and it will take years to catch up with the recording, which for various reasons, could not be done in the past, not to mention the need for work in the area of the more recent rapid expansion of Mennonite settlements. Nevertheless, the work of Huebert and Schroeder has already contributed to a greatly improved orientation along the road of the Mennonite experience and this commemorative addition of the new **Mennonite Historical Atlas** adds in a significant way to the information we already have.

Like photographs, maps are important documents illustrating the story of civilizations, communities or families. Without maps history is a handicapped science.

G.K.Epp
Winnipeg, Canada

INTRODUCTION

The first edition of the *Mennonite Historical Atlas* seems to have interested many people. Parents received copies from their children because we had included a map of the ancestral village. My own church gave copies to those celebrating golden wedding anniversaries. The British Museum atlas section already had one when I offered it a complimentary copy. There has also been criticism, much of it justified. There were errors, there were omissions. The second edition will hopefully satisfy those who originally found the atlas helpful, yet also mollify the critics.

Even the second edition, however, does not attempt to be a comprehensive Mennonite atlas. The emphasis is still on the particular interest of William Schroeder and myself, which happens to be the Netherlands/Vistula Delta/Russia/Canada/Latin America stream of Mennonite history. We have not included maps of the Swiss/South German developments and have not attempted to show Ontario or the eastern United States. Evangelism and Missions have been a vital portion of the Anabaptist/Mennonite faith and life, but we have not included maps of this activity either, nor that of the worldwide programs of the Mennonite Central Committee. Hutterites have roots in the same soil as Mennonites, so we have included a few maps plotting their development. We have more maps of the early Anabaptist era, and have included more Russian colonies and settlements, for example, those around the Volga River and in Siberia. There are more details of early Canadian and central United States settlements, as well as more Central and South American maps.

William Schroeder has continued to draw maps, based on his research, letters, personal interviews and direct exploration. I have also continued to correct and improve information and have personally verified a number of map features. Weldon Hiebert, cartographer at the University of Winnipeg, has redrawn all the maps using a graphics computer program and a map database. Where particular people have contributed to a map their names are mentioned in the legend. Specific drawer of the map is designated by initials in the right lower corner of the legend. WS is for William Schroeder, HTH for Helmut T. Huebert.

We have tried to standardize all maps. North is always up, so we have not included a directional arrow. Here we have had to adjust to the best knowledge available, since various traditional maps have been off the true coordinates by as much as 30 degrees. Symbols are consistent throughout, although, because of variation in scale, there are two symbols for Mennonite villages. All maps have a border, and all are drawn out to the edges of the map.

We have elected to record history, rather than to correct it. Whether it was accurate or not, or politically sensitive or not, the fact is that most Mennonites in the area called their home "Molotschna", not "Molochnaya". In another instance the name of the man was Jacob Shantz, but the village named after him Schanzenberg. Such variety makes life interesting.

Spelling of geographic names is a challenging problem. Generally, we have used the Mennonite/German spelling for Mennonite features, but the language of the country (or an anglicized version of it) for other geographic designations. Even here we have not been totally consistent. "Sagradowka" retains the "s" but we have changed the "w" to a "v". Russian names are a special problem, in that the anglicized version varies considerably. In maps of Ukraine we have elected to use Russian rather than Ukrainian spelling. Designation of Russia/U.S.S.R./C.I.S./Russia has been followed as much as possible for the time period shown on the map, as well as in the naming of cities such as St. Petersburg.

For German names we signify an "*Umlaut*" by use of the following "e"; for indexing purposes this "e" is considered to be a separate letter. We have included accent marks for Polish, Russian and Spanish names. Changes in usage occur in time, such as dropping the "h" in German names. Is it "Schoenthal" or "Schoental"? We have chosen the spelling appropriate to the time, or that used in the original source maps. In our text we have made no attempt to differentiate the calendar used, Julian or Gregorian, but have included a brief explanation of dates at the end of the atlas.

Many Mennonite villages had two names, one German, the other in the local language, as well as numbers. On the maps we have tended to use the Mennonite (mostly German) name and the number. The index records the German, and when known, the local language name.

The overall plan of the atlas is roughly chronological. We start with Anabaptist/Mennonite beginnings in Europe, then move to Russia, North and South America. With Russia and South America the colonies are in alphabetical order; within a colony, when possible, villages are also in alphabetical order.

We feel strongly that it is impossible to adequately understand history without a rudimentary knowledge of significant geographic features. Likewise it is difficult to identify significant geographic features without being familiar with a few guideposts of history. We have included a brief description of each map or series of maps to help in this dual orientation. Each text is a unit

complete in itself, not depending on prior or following descriptions to make sense. It must be remembered, however, that this is not a history book nor an encyclopaedia, but we have tried to be as accurate yet brief as possible to be of help to our readers.

Our hope is that the maps will not be dusty dry pieces of paper, but a testimony to those who have, in the faith, gone before us. In this regard it is particularly fitting that we can especially remember Menno Simons half a millennium after his birth.

For me, there are also personal ties. The map of Alexanderthal (Molotschna Colony), for example, shows the yard of Heinrich Huebert, where my father lived for a time. He practised his first sermon behind the neighbouring windmill, and delivered it the following Sunday at the nearby Mennonite Brethren Church. It is all on the map!

May the "Mennonite Historical Atlas" allow the old to review their memories, the young to make new discoveries.

Helmut T. Huebert
Editor
June, 1996

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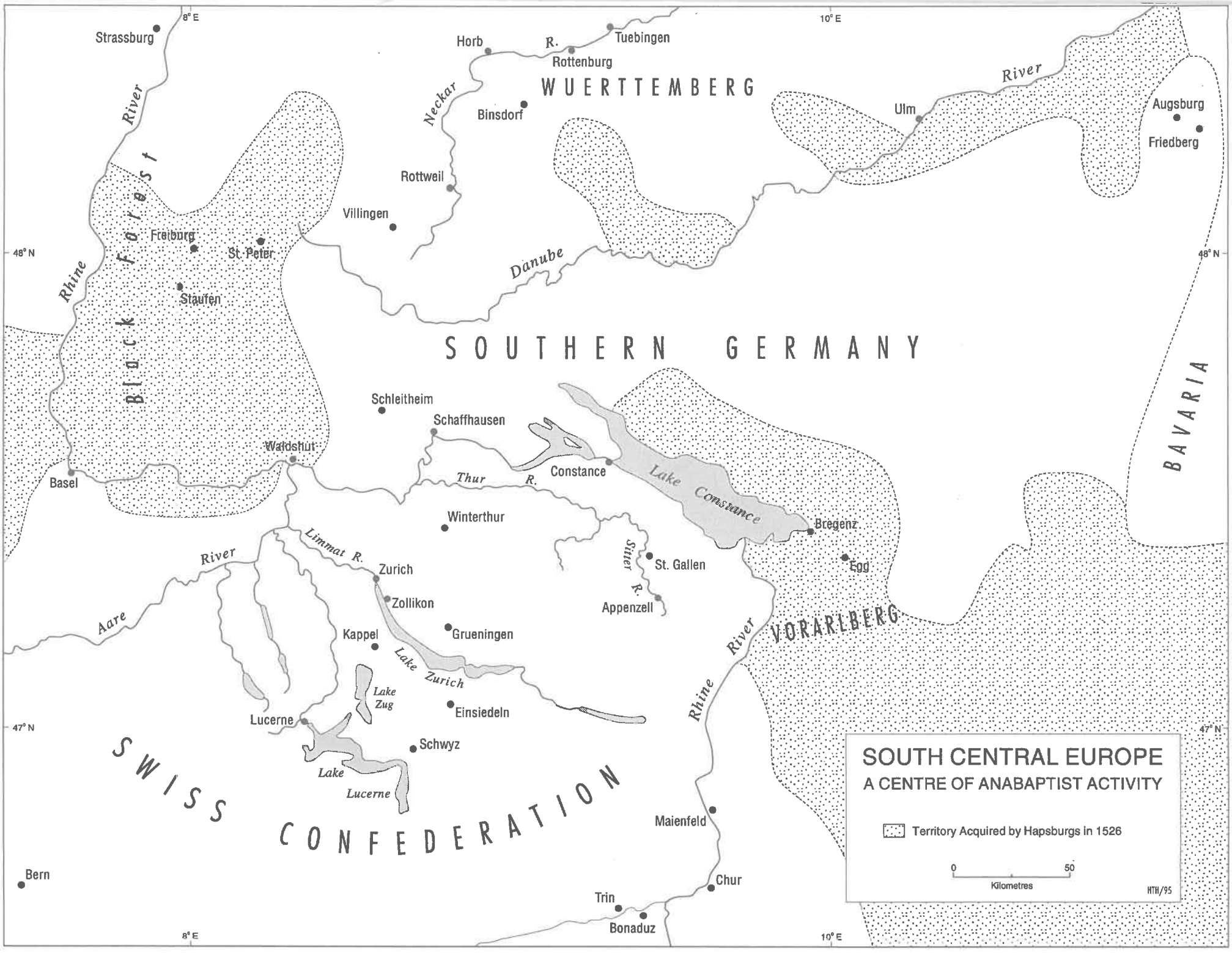
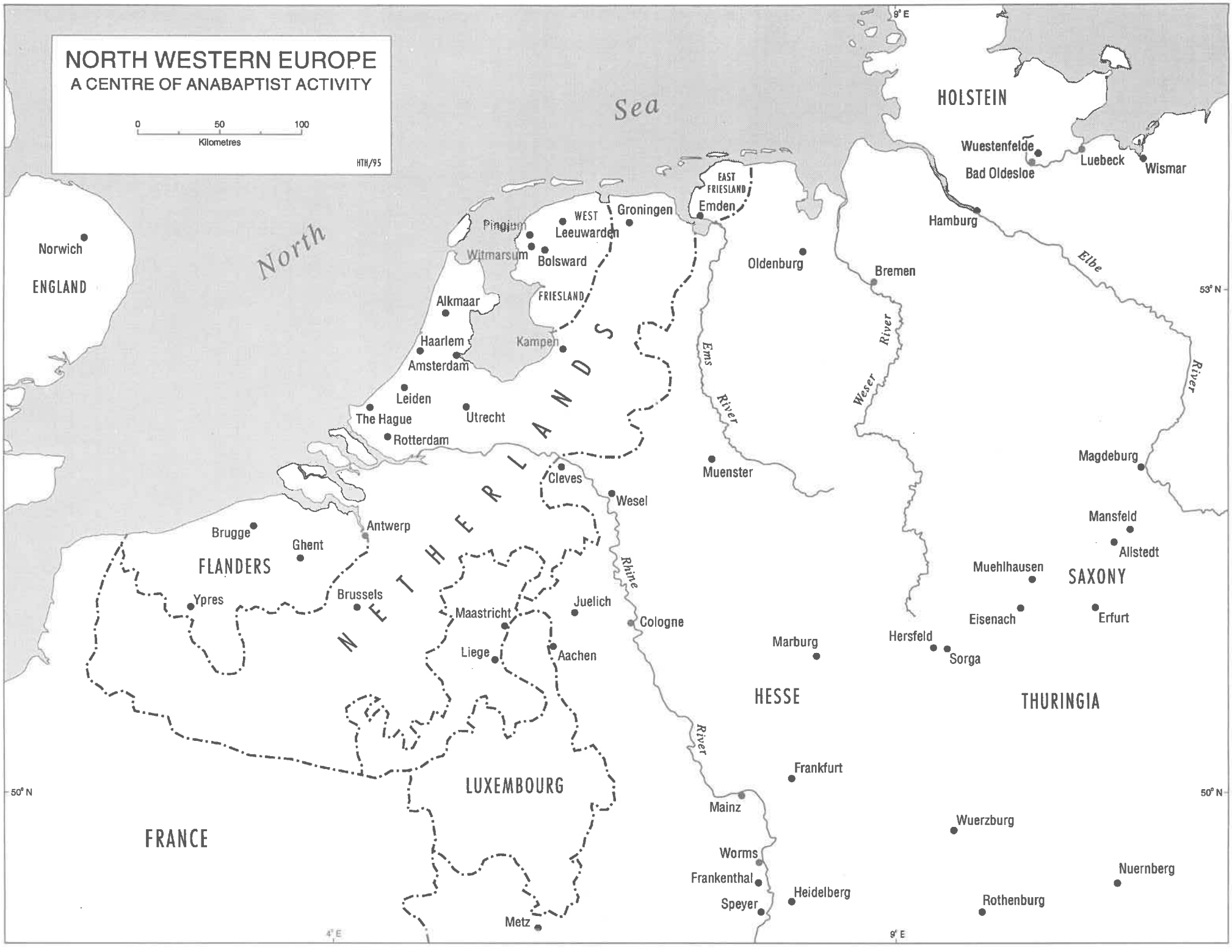
150° W
120° W
90° W
60° W
30° W
0°
30° E
60° E
90° E
120° E
150° E
60° N
30° N
0°
30° S
60° S
Meridian
Prime
Equator
CANADA
RUSSIA
EUROPE
AFRICA
CHINA
AUSTRALIA
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
MEXICO
U. S. A.
Pacific
Ocean
Atlantic
Ocean
Indian
Ocean
Ocean
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
N. DAKOTA
S. DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
CHIHUAHUA
DURANGO
BELIZE
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
UKRAINE
KAZAKHSTAN
Murmansk
Archangel
St. Petersburg
Riga
Moscow
Ufa
Omsk
Novosibirsk
Orenburg
Danzig
Amsterdam
Zurich
Zaporozh' ye
Karaganda
Alma Ata
Frunze
Tashkent
Harbin
Winnipeg
Quebec
Halifax
New York
Santa Cruz
Asunción
Curitiba
WORLD
ORIENTATION MAP
National Boundary
Provincial or State Boundary
0
2000
4000
Kilometres
(at equator)
WS/96

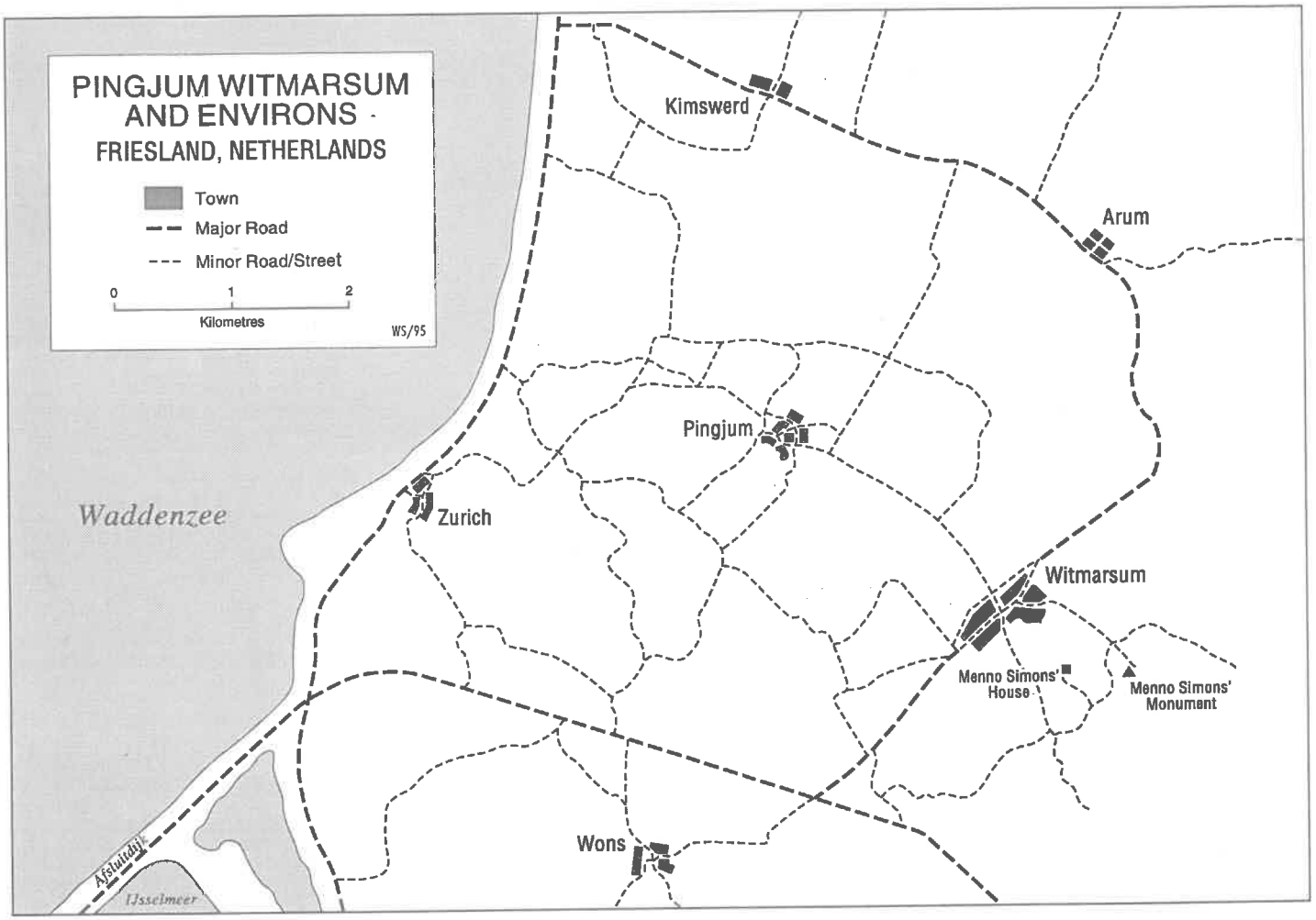
LAND OF THE REFORMATION
MODERN BOUNDARIES AND NAMES
International Boundary
Provincial/State Boundary
0
100
200
Kilometres
WS/95
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Baltic
Sea
North
Sea
SCHLESWIG-
HOLSTEIN
Luebeck
Wismar
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG-
WESTERN POMERANIA
POMERANIA
Danzig
R.
Vistula
Emden
Witmarsum
Bremen
Elbe
LOWER
SAXONY
Amsterdam
Leiden
Rotterdam
NETHERLANDS
Hannover
SAXONY-
ANHALT
Rhine
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
POLAND
52° N
Muenster
Oder
Magdeburg
Wittenberg
NORTH RHINE-
WESTPHALIA
Antwerp
Brussels
Rhine
Cologne
Marburg
Erfurt
Leipzig
SAXONY
SILESIA
River
BELGIUM
GERMANY
HESSE
THURINGIA
Zwickau
River
RHINELAND-
LUX.
Frankfurt
Luxembourg
Mainz
PALATINATE
BOHEMIA
Prague
MORAVIA
Worms
SAARLAND
Nuernberg
Reims
Metz
Speyer
Heidelberg
Rothenburg
CZECH REPUBLIC
LORRAINE
Brno
BAVARIA
Regensburg
BADEN-
Nikolsburg
Danube
Strasbourg
Stuttgart
Ingolstadt
FRANCE
ALSACE
Ulm
WUERTTEMBERG
Augsburg
River
SLOVAKIA
48° N
Munich
Linz
Vienna
Steyr
Oberammergau
Basel
Constance
Salzburg
Zurich
Rattenberg
AUSTRIA
TIROL
Innsbruck
Bern
SWITZERLAND
HUNGARY
Geneva
Lyon
SAVOY
SLOVENIA
Zagreb
River
PIEDMONT
Milan
CROATIA
ITALY
Rhone
Venice
Genoa
BOSNIA
and
HERZEGOVINA
Adriatic
Sea
Ligurian Sea
9° E
13° E

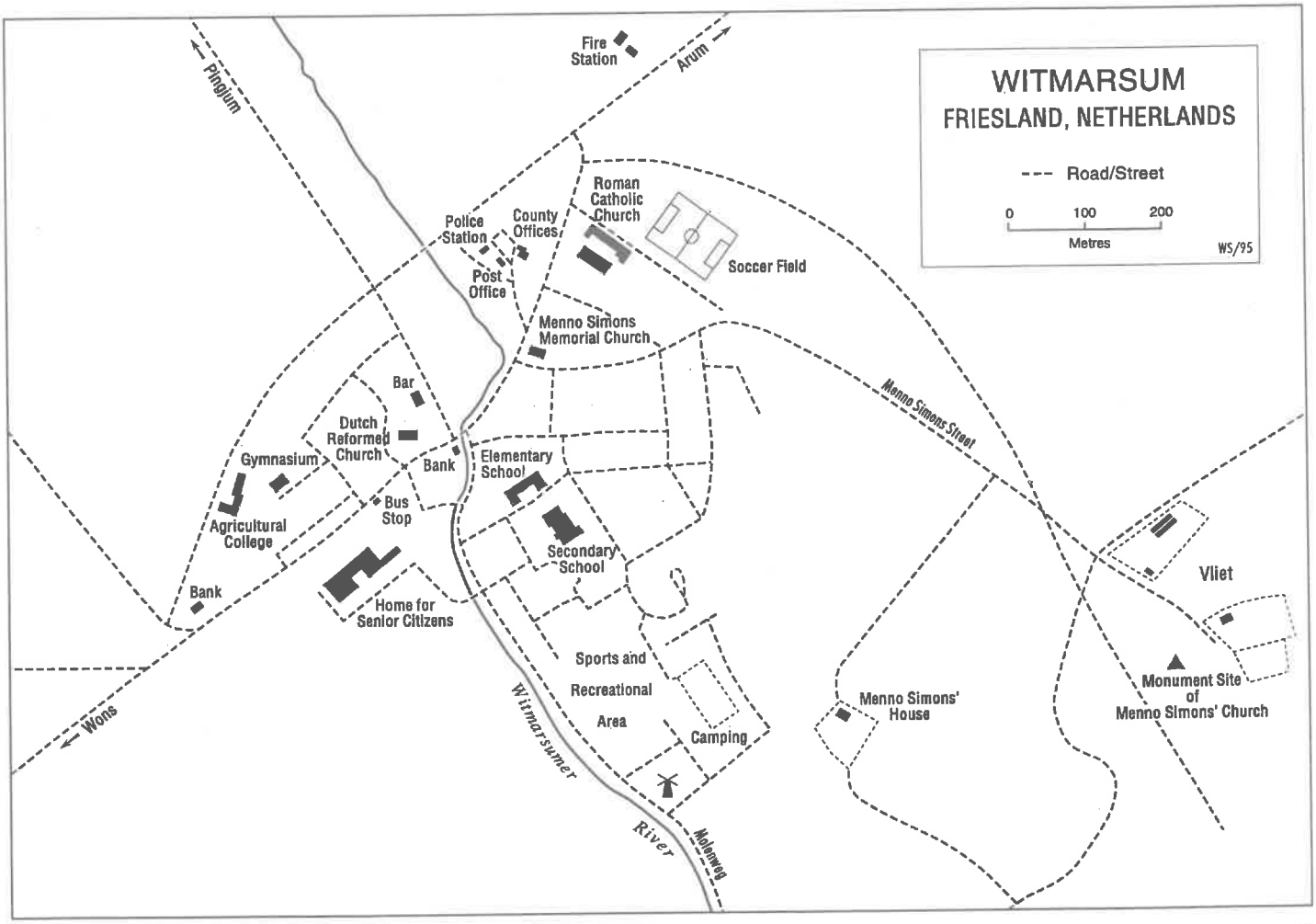

8° E
10° E
48° N
47° N
Strassburg
River
Rhine
Black Forest
Freiburg
St. Peter
Staufen
Basel
Horb
R.
Tuebingen
Rottenburg
WUERTTEMBERG
Neckar
Binsdorf
Rottweil
Villingen
Danube
Ulm
River
Augsburg
Friedberg
SOUTHERN GERMANY
BAVARIA
Schleitheim
Schaffhausen
Waldshut
Thur R.
Constance
Lake Constance
Bregenz
Egg
Winterthur
Limmat R.
River
Zurich
Zollikon
Aare
Kappel
Grueningen
Lake Zurich
Lake Zug
Einsiedeln
Lucerne
Schwyz
Lake Lucerne
SWISS CONFEDERATION
Sitter R.
St. Gallen
Appenzell
VORARLBERG
Rhine River
Maienfeld
Chur
Trin
Bonaduz
Bern
SOUTH CENTRAL EUROPE
A CENTRE OF ANABAPTIST ACTIVITY
Territory Acquired by Hapsburgs in 1526
0
50
Kilometres
HTH/95

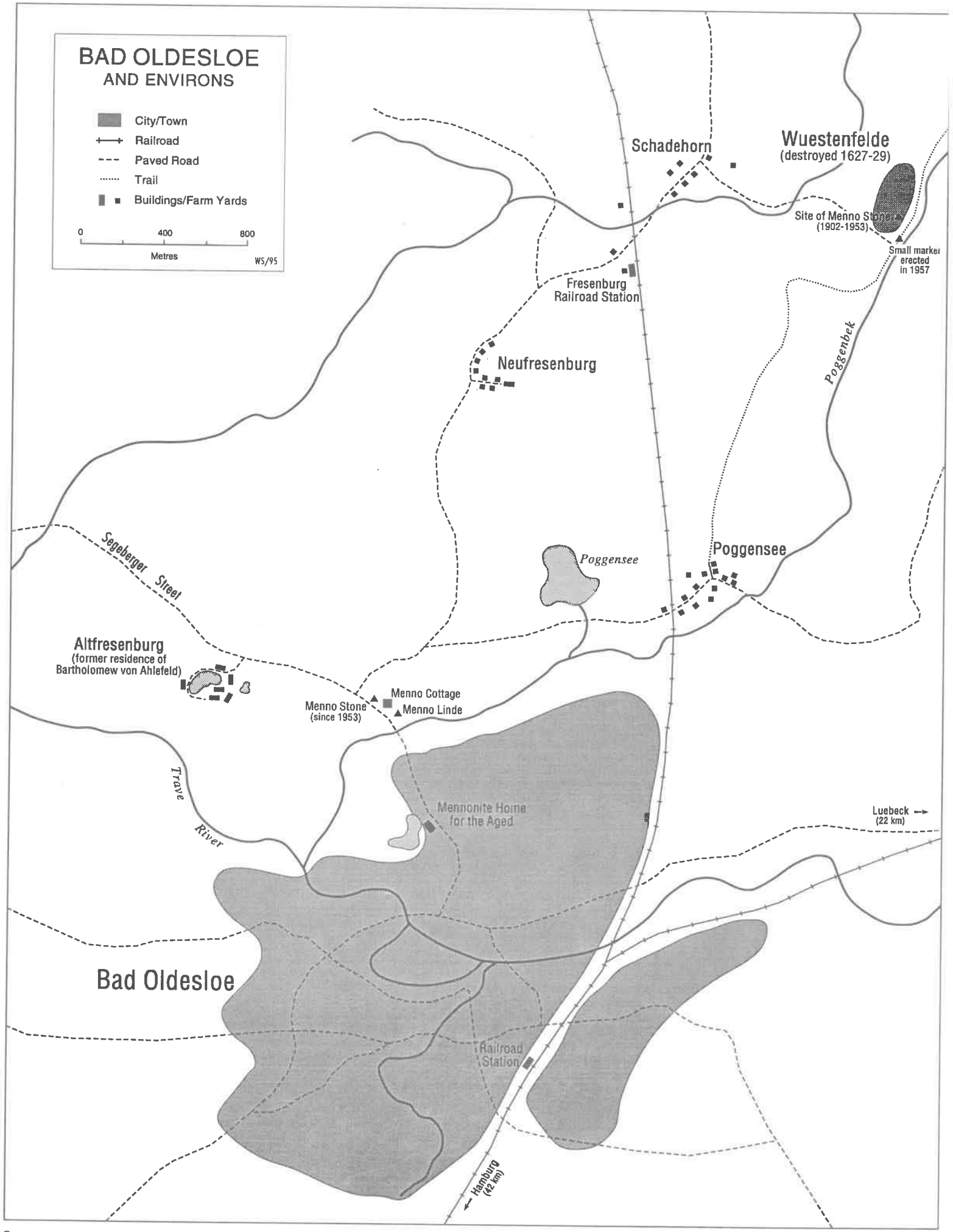
12° E
16° E
20° E
50° N
48° N
46° N
Muehlhausen
Frankenhausen
Leipzig
Eisenach
Erfurt
SAXONY
Dresden
Breslau
Oder River
LITTLE POLAND
Vistula River
Fulda
Zwickau
SILESIA
Cracow
Prague
BOHEMIA
Wuerzburg
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Nuernberg
Tabor
MORAVIA
Rothenburg
Bruenn
Rossitz
Austerlitz
Regensburg
BAVARIA
Eibenschitz
Auspitz
Nikolsburg
Danube River
Ingolstadt
Ulm
Augsburg
Passau
Freistadt
AUSTRIA
Munich
Linz
Vienna
Memmingen
UPPER
LOWER
Steyr
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
Salzburg
Lake Constance
Bregenz
Egg
Rattenberg
Pest
Buda
Rhine R.
VORARLBERG
Innsbruck
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
TIROL
CARINTHIA
Chur
Bruneck
Welsberg
Brixen
Moos
Klausen
Spittal
Klagenfurt
Drave River (Drau River)
Villach
Zagreb
VENICE
Trieste
Venice
Padua
SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
A CENTRE OF ANABAPTIST ACTIVITY
Holy Roman Empire Border
Ottoman Empire Border
0
50
100
Kilometres
HTH/95

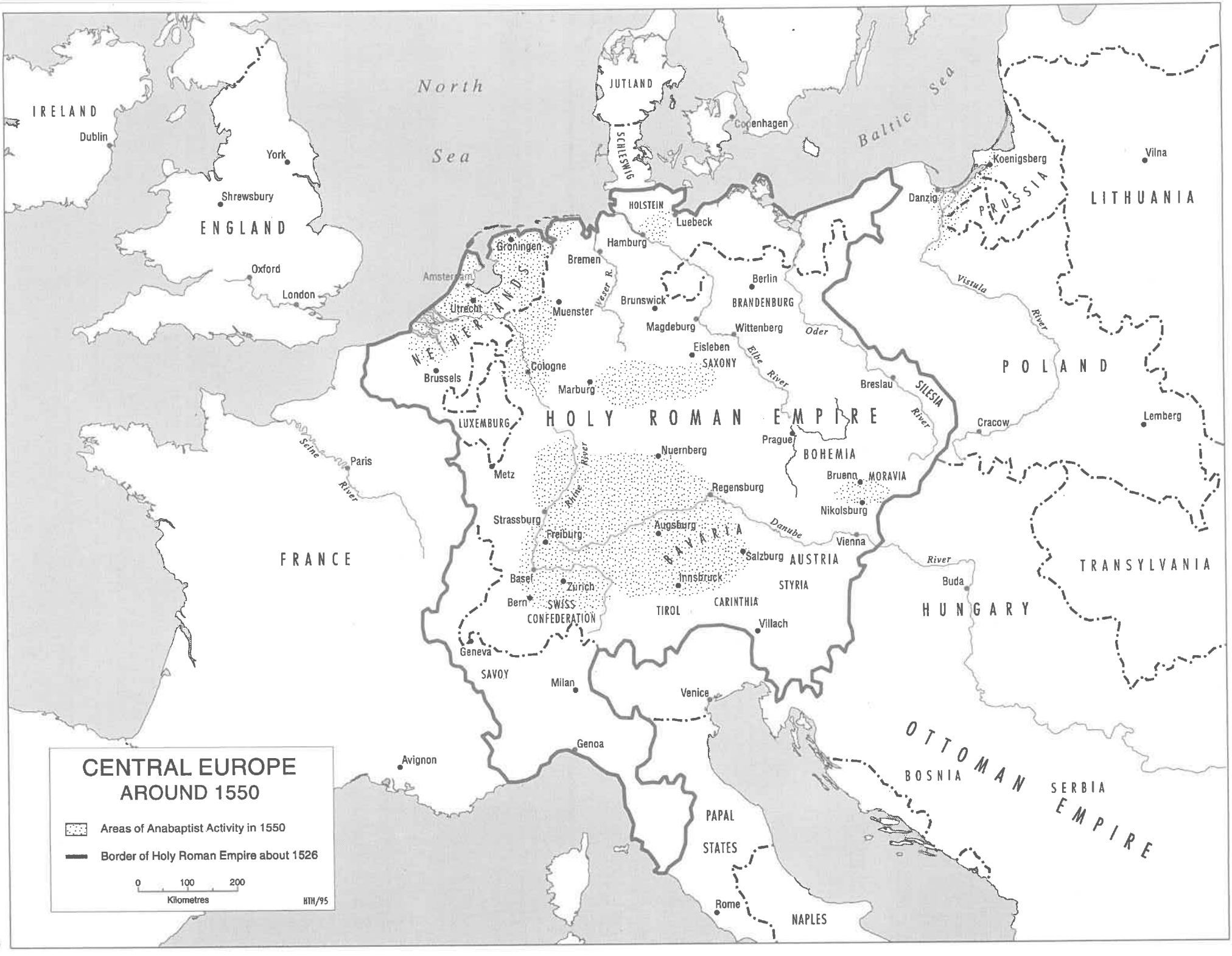

NORTH WESTERN EUROPE
A CENTRE OF ANABAPTIST ACTIVITY
0
50
100
Kilometres
HTH/95
North Sea
9° E
HOLSTEIN
Wuestenfelde
Bad Oldesloe
Luebeck
Wismar
EAST FRIESLAND
Emden
Groningen
WEST FRIESLAND
Pingjum
Leeuwarden
Witmarsum
Bolsward
Hamburg
Oldenburg
Bremen
Elbe River
53° N
Norwich
ENGLAND
Alkmaar
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Kampen
Leiden
The Hague
Utrecht
Rotterdam
NETHERLANDS
Ems River
Weser River
Muenster
Magdeburg
Cleves
Wesel
Antwerp
Brugge
Ghent
FLANDERS
Ypres
Brussels
Maastricht
Liege
Juelich
Aachen
Cologne
Rhine River
Mansfeld
Allstedt
Muehlhausen
SAXONY
Eisenach
Erfurt
Hersfeld
Sorga
Marburg
HESSE
THURINGIA
LUXEMBOURG
FRANCE
50° N
Frankfurt
Mainz
Wuerzburg
Worms
Frankenthal
Speyer
Heidelberg
Nuernberg
Rothenburg
Metz
4° E
9° E

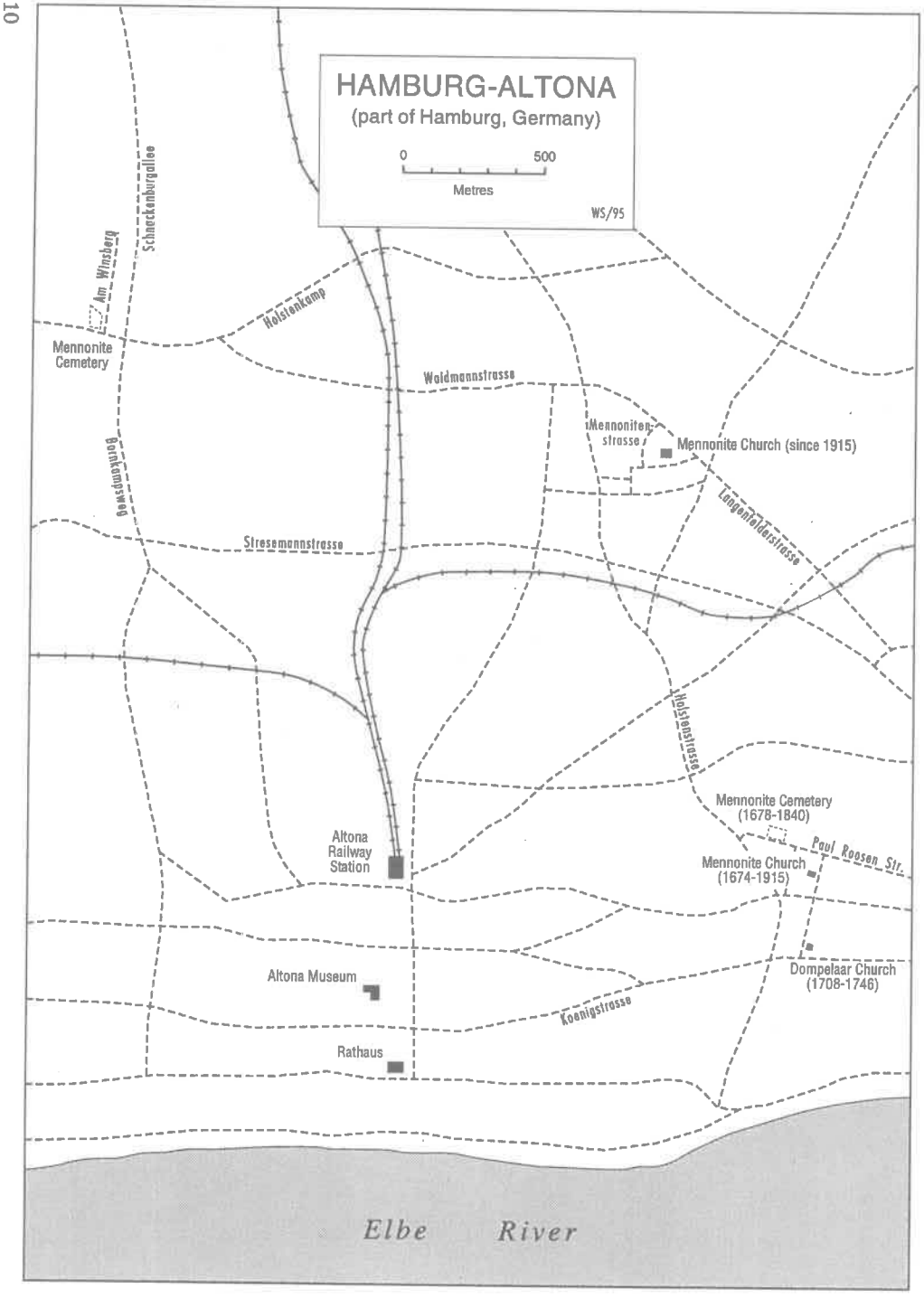
NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG
MODERN BOUNDARIES AND NAMES
National Boundary
Provincial Boundary
0
50
Kilometres
WS/95
West Frisian Islands
Waddenzee
Emden
Pingjum
Leeuwarden
Witmarsum
Bolsward
GRONINGEN
Groningen
FRIESLAND
IJsselmeer
NORTH HOLLAND
Alkmaar
Amsterdam
FLEVOLAND
DRENTHE
OVERIJSSEL
Ems River
North Sea
Leiden
The Hague
Rotterdam
SOUTH HOLLAND
Utrecht
UTRECHT
GELDERLAND
NETHERLANDS
ZEELAND
NORTH BRABANT
Brugge
WEST FLANDERS
Antwerp
ANTWERP
EAST FLANDERS
Ghent
Leper (Ypres)
Krefeld
Rhine River
LIMBURG
Brussels
BRABANT
Maastricht
Juelich
Cologne
BELGIUM
Aachen
HAINAULT
Bonn
Maas
Liege
Scheldt River
LIEGE
NAMUR
GERMANY
LUXEMBOURG
Mosel River
Meuse River
Trier
LUXEMBOURG
Luxembourg
FRANCE

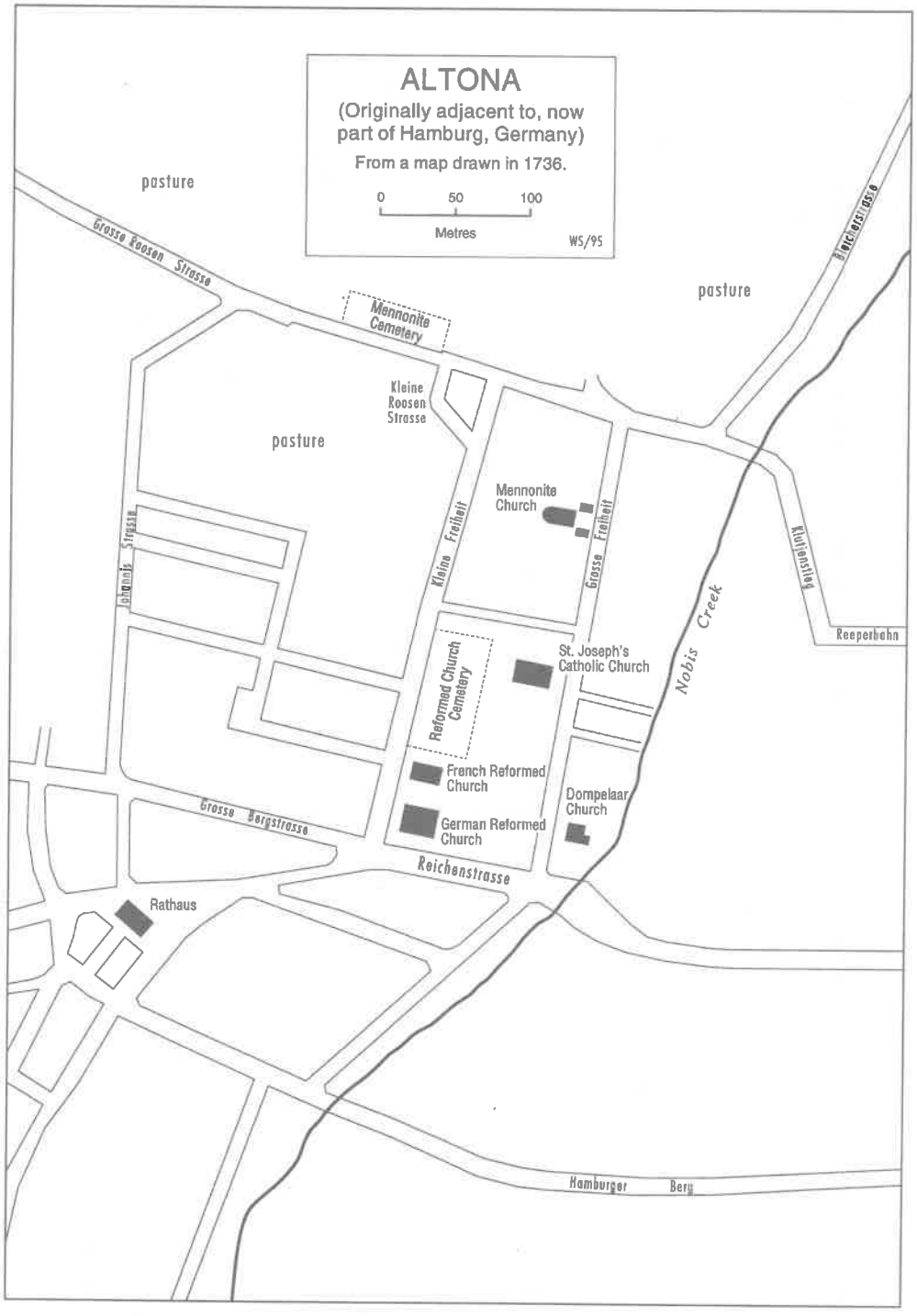

PINGJUM WITMARSUM AND ENVIRONS
FRIESLAND, NETHERLANDS
Town
Major Road
Minor Road/Street
0
1
2
Kilometres
WS/95
Kimswerd
Arum
Pingjum
Zurich
Waddenzee
Witmarsum
Menno Simons' House
Menno Simons' Monument
Wons
Afsluitdijk
IJsselmeer

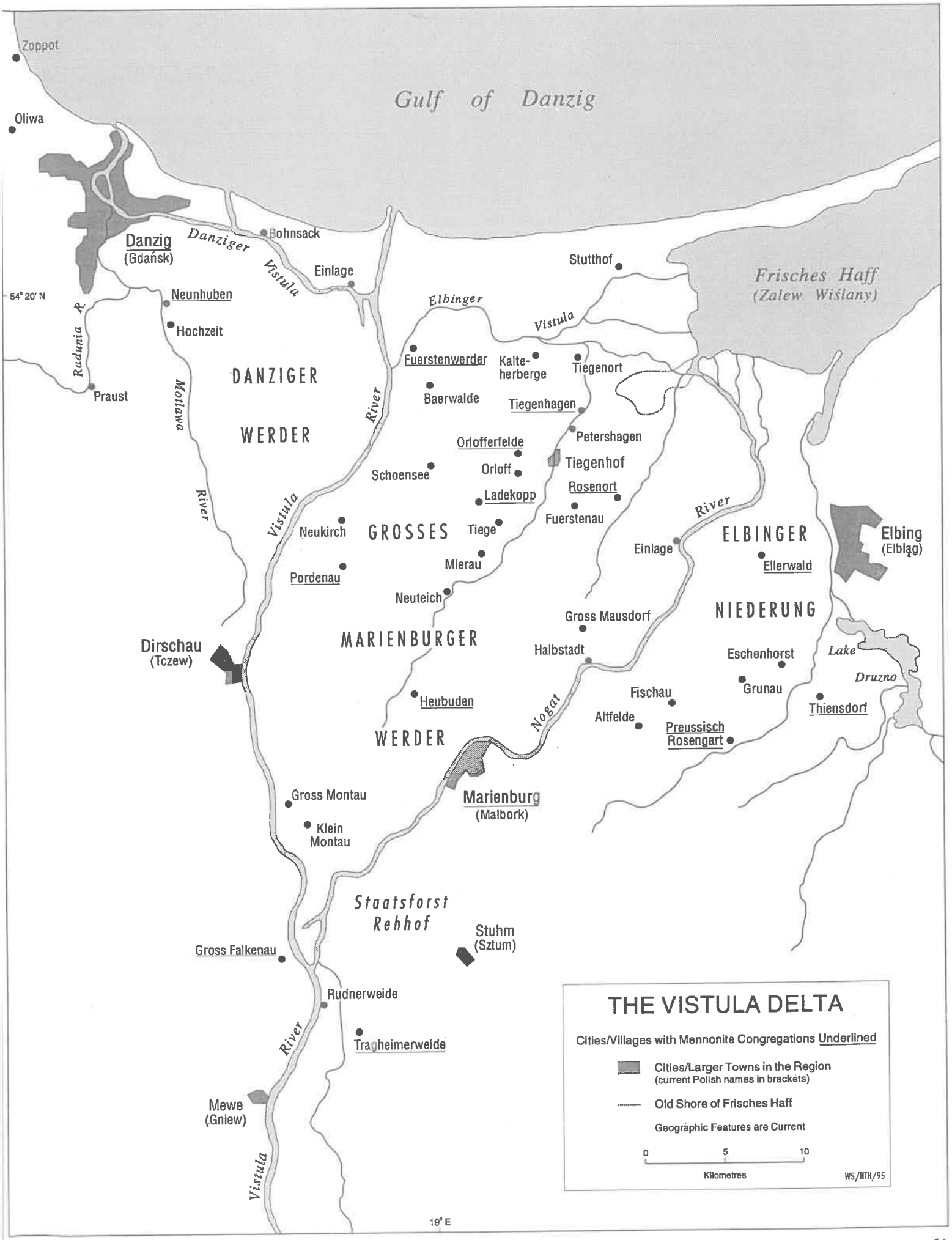

WITMARSUM
FRIESLAND, NETHERLANDS
Road/Street
0
100
200
Metres
WS/95
Pingjum
Fire Station
Arum
Roman Catholic Church
Police Station
County Offices
Post Office
Soccer Field
Menno Simons Memorial Church
Menno Simons Street
Bar
Dutch Reformed Church
Gymnasium
Bank
Elementary School
Bus Stop
Agricultural College
Secondary School
Bank
Home for Senior Citizens
Vliet
Sports and Recreational Area
Camping
Monument Site of Menno Simons' Church
Menno Simons' House
Wons
Witmarsumer River
Molenweg


BAD OLDESLOE
AND ENVIRONS
City/Town
Railroad
Paved Road
Trail
Buildings/Farm Yards
0
400
800
Metres
WS/95
Schadehorn
Wuestenfelde
(destroyed 1627-29)
Site of Menno Stone
(1902-1953)
Small marker
erected
in 1957
Fresenburg
Railroad Station
Neufresenburg
Poggenbek
Segeberger Street
Poggensee
Poggensee
Altfresenburg
(former residence of
Bartholomew von Ahlefeld)
Menno Cottage
Menno Linde
Menno Stone
(since 1953)
Trave River
Mennonite Home
for the Aged
Luebeck
(22 km)
Bad Oldesloe
Railroad
Station
Hamburg
(42 km)


North Sea
Baltic Sea
IRELAND
Dublin
York
Shrewsbury
ENGLAND
Oxford
London
JUTLAND
SCHLESWIG
Copenhagen
Koenigsberg
Vilna
LITHUANIA
Danzig
PRUSSIA
HOLSTEIN
Luebeck
Hamburg
Groningen
Bremen
Amsterdam
Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
Muenster
Weser R.
Brunswick
Berlin
BRANDENBURG
Magdeburg
Wittenberg
Oder
Vistula River
Eisleben
SAXONY
Elbe River
Cologne
Brussels
Marburg
Breslau
SILESIA
River
POLAND
LUXEMBURG
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Cracow
Lemberg
Prague
BOHEMIA
Seine River
Paris
Nuernberg
Rhine River
Metz
Bruenn
MORAVIA
Regensburg
Nikolsburg
Strassburg
Augsburg
Danube
Freiburg
Vienna
BAVARIA
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
River
TRANSYLVANIA
FRANCE
Basel
Zurich
Innsbruck
STYRIA
Buda
Bern
SWISS
CONFEDERATION
TIROL
CARINTHIA
HUNGARY
Villach
Geneva
SAVOY
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Avignon
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BOSNIA
SERBIA
PAPAL
STATES
Rome
NAPLES
CENTRAL EUROPE
AROUND 1550
Areas of Anabaptist Activity in 1550
Border of Holy Roman Empire about 1526
0
100
200
Kilometres
HTH/95


HAMBURG-ALTONA
(part of Hamburg, Germany)
0
500
Metres
WS/95
Am Winsberg
Schleckanburgallee
Holstenkamp
Mennonite Cemetery
Waldmannstrasse
Mennoniten-strasse
Mennonite Church (since 1915)
Bonkampsweg
Stresemannstrasse
Langenfelderstrasse
Holstenstrasse
Mennonite Cemetery (1678-1840)
Paul Roosen Str.
Altona Railway Station
Mennonite Church (1674-1915)
Altona Museum
Dompelaar Church (1708-1746)
Koenigstrasse
Rathaus
Elbe River


ALTONA
(Originally adjacent to, now part of Hamburg, Germany)
From a map drawn in 1736.
0
50
100
Metres
WS/95
pasture
Grosse Roosen Strasse
Mennonite Cemetery
pasture
Kleine Roosen Strasse
pasture
Mennonite Church
Johannis Strasse
Kleine Freiheit
Grosse Freiheit
Klutjenstieg
Reeperbahn
Nobis Creek
Reformed Church Cemetery
St. Joseph's Catholic Church
French Reformed Church
Dompelaar Church
German Reformed Church
Grosse Bergstrasse
Reichenstrasse
Rathaus
Hamburger Berg



THE VISTULA DELTA

Cities/Villages with Mennonite Congregations Underlined

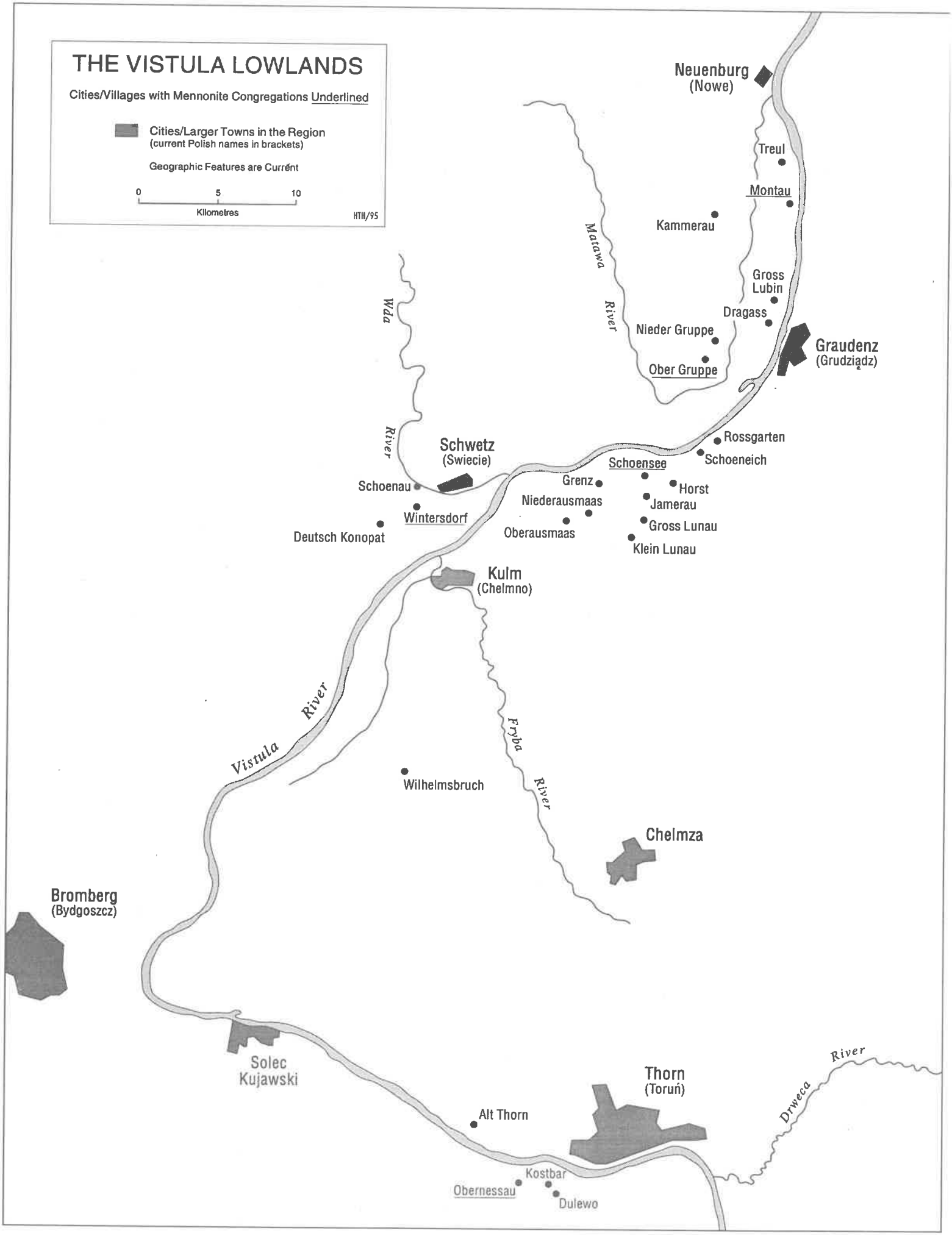
Cities/Larger Towns in the Region
(current Polish names in brackets)

Old Shore of Frisches Haff

Geographic Features are Current

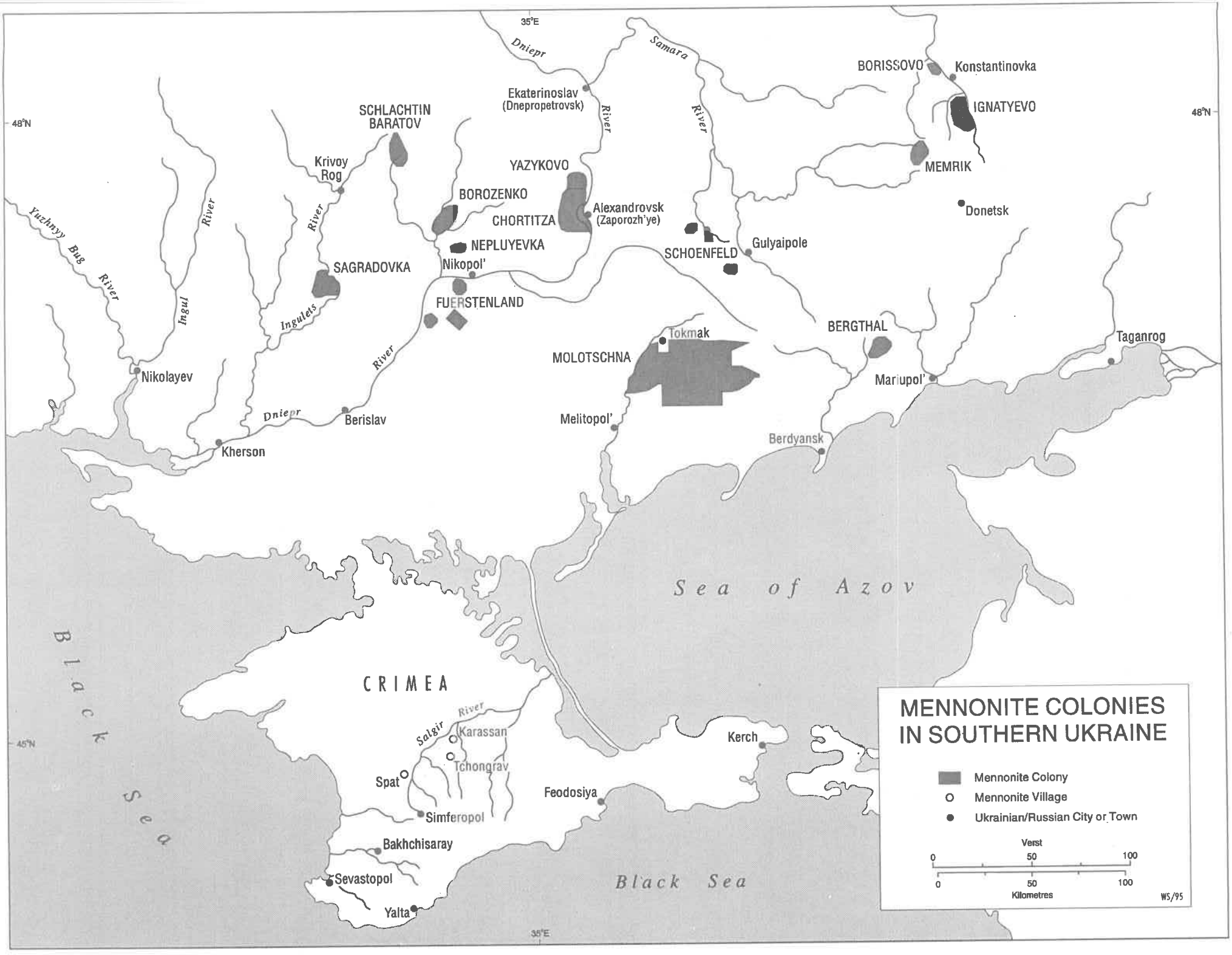
0 5 10
Kilometres

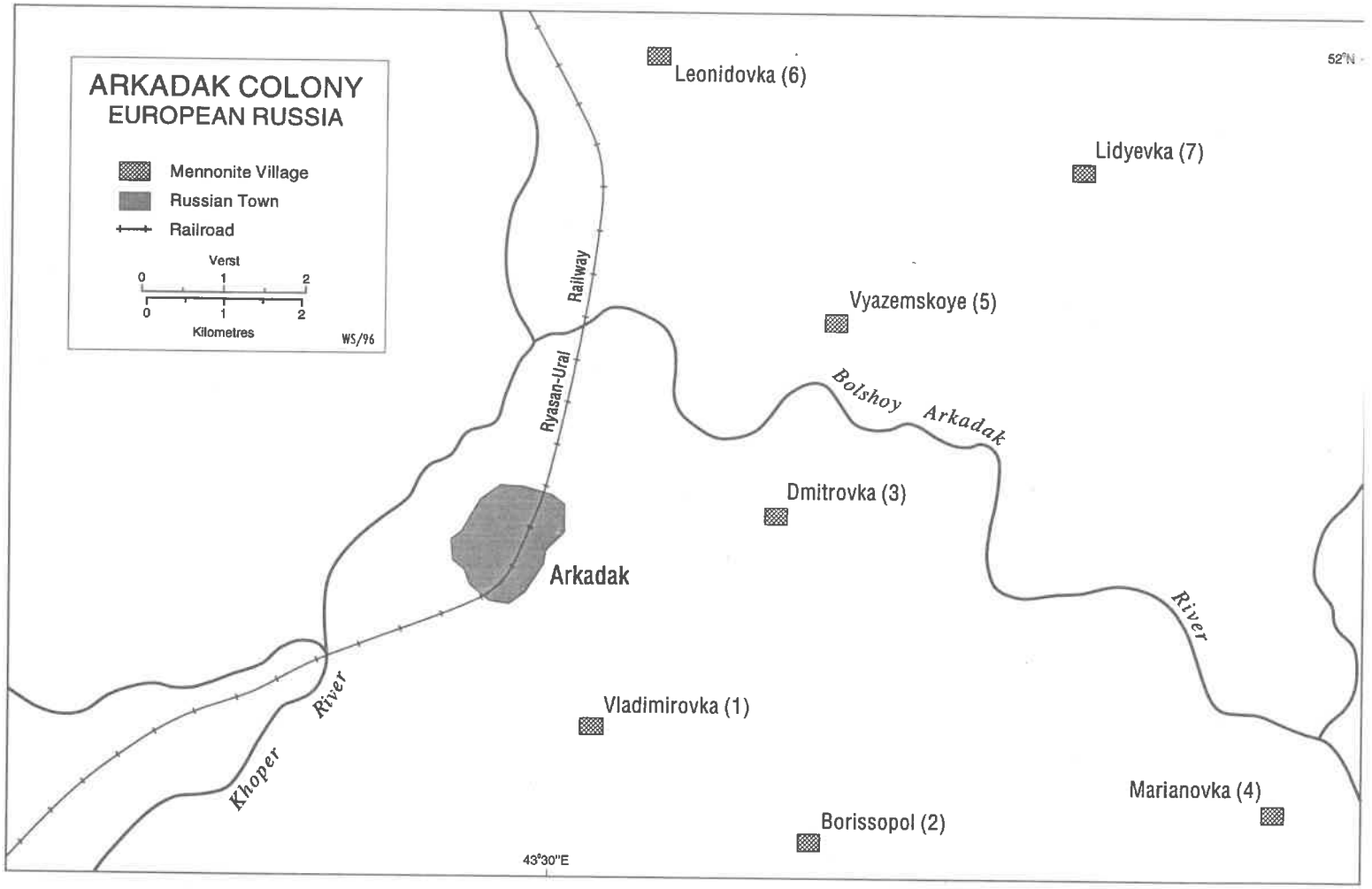
WS/HTH/95

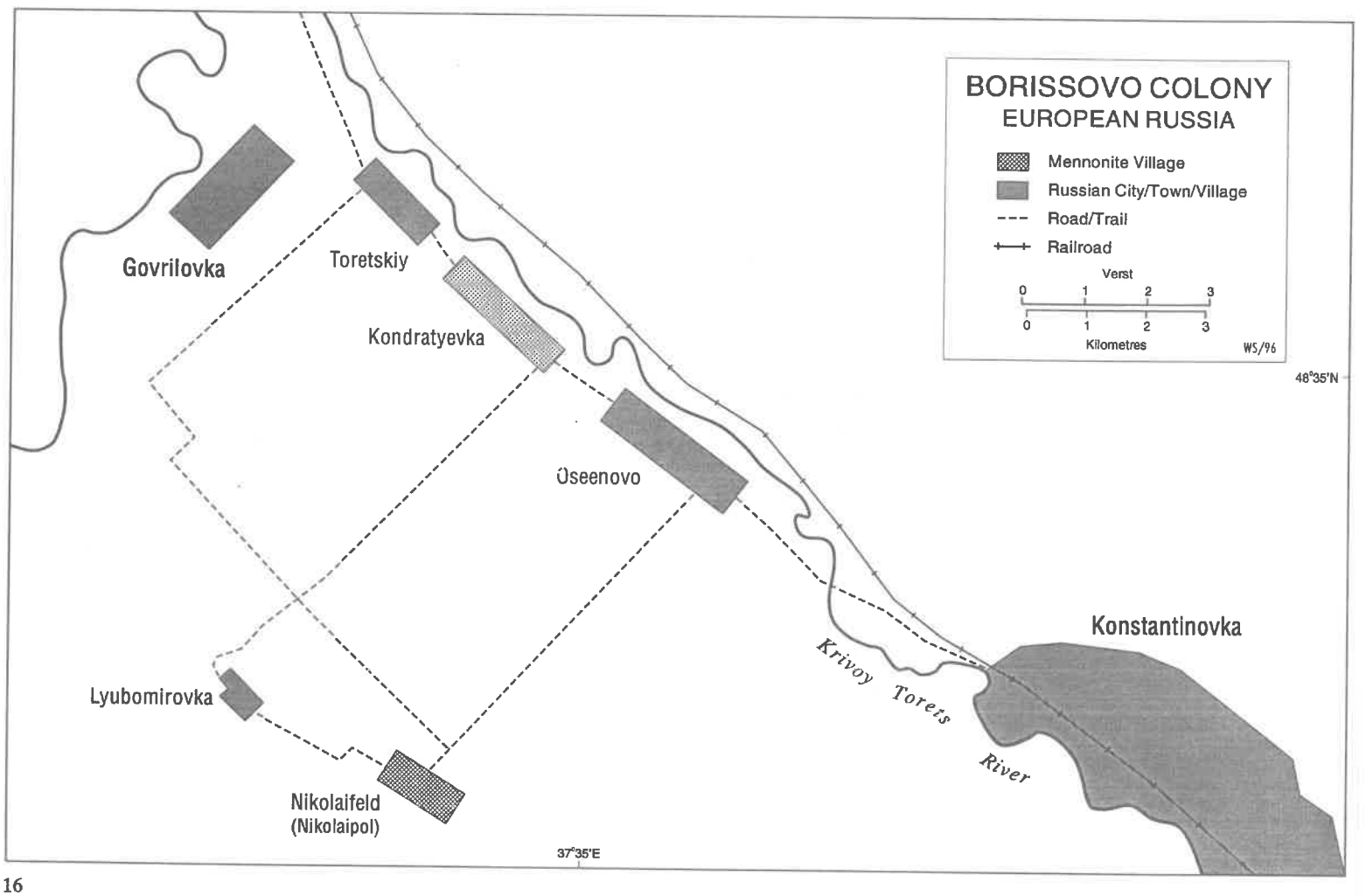

THE VISTULA LOWLANDS
Cities/Villages with Mennonite Congregations Underlined
Cities/Larger Towns in the Region
(current Polish names in brackets)
Geographic Features are Current
0
5
10
Kilometres
HTH/95
Neuenburg
(Nowe)
Treul
Montau
Kammerau
Matawa River
Gross Lubin
Dragass
Nieder Gruppe
Ober Gruppe
Graudenz
(Grudziądz)
Wda River
Schwetz
(Swiecie)
Rossgarten
Schoeneich
Schoensee
Grenz
Horst
Jamerau
Schoenau
Niederausmaas
Wintersdorf
Gross Lunau
Deutsch Konopat
Oberausmaas
Klein Lunau
Kulm
(Chelmno)
Vistula River
Fryba River
Wilhelmsbruch
Chelmza
Bromberg
(Bydgoszcz)
Solec
Kujawski
Thorn
(Toruń)
Drweca River
Alt Thorn
Kostbar
Obernessau
Dulewo

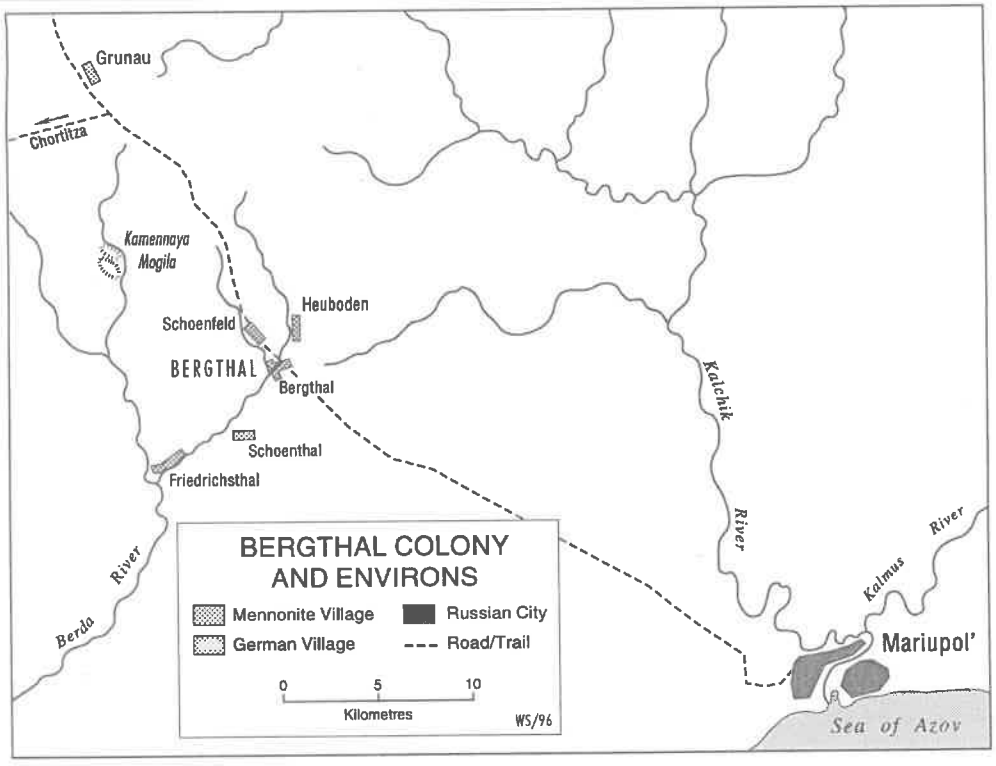
MIGRATION FROM THE VISTULA TO SOUTHERN RUSSIA
To Chortitza (1787-1789)
To The Molotschna (1803-1804)
Mennonite Colony
Verst
0 100 200 300
0 100 200 300
Kilometres
WS/95
Baltic Sea
Helsinki
St. Petersburg
Stockholm
Tallinn
Novgorod
Riga
Dvina River
Moscow
Koenigsberg
Danzig
Orsha
Dubrovno
Mogilev
Thorn
Pripet Marshes
Bug River
Warsaw
Pripyat River
Dniepr
Gomel
Chernigov
Vistula River
Kiev
Poltava
Khar'kov
Kremenchug River
Dniestr River
Yuzhnyy Bug River
Ekaterinoslav
CHORTITZA
MOLOTSCHNA
Prut River
Nikolayev
Kherson
Berislav
Odessa
Sea of Azov
Feodosiya
Danube River
Sevastopol
Bucharest
Belgrade
Black Sea

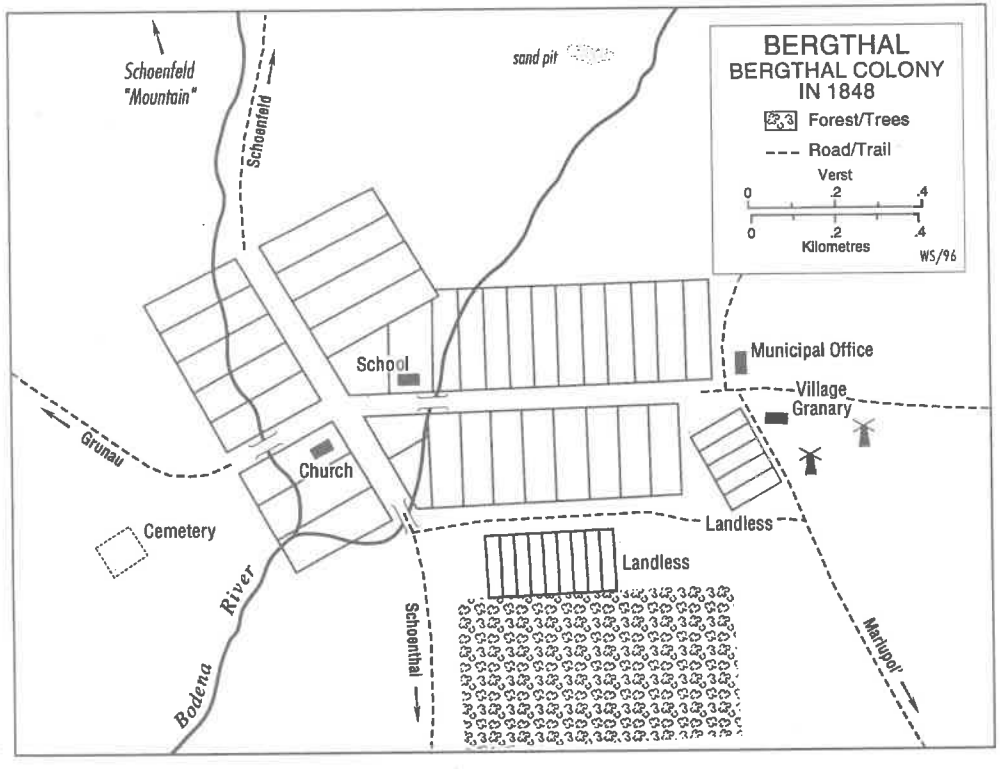
MENNONITE COLONIES
IN UKRAINE AND RUSSIA
MODERN NAMES AND BOUNDARIES
Mennonite Colony
0
200
Kilometres
WS/HTH/95
30°E
40°E
50°E
50°N
St. Petersburg
ESTONIA
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Dvina River
Minsk
BELARUS
Pripyat River
Dniepr
VOLHYNIA
(small scattered
settlements)
Kiev
UKRAINE
Dniestr River
MOLDAVIA
ROMANIA
Danube River
BULGARIA
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
(scattered
settlements)
YAZYKOVO
CHORTITZA
MEMRIK
IGNATYEVO
BOROZENKO
Zaporozh'ye
SAGRADOVKA
Kherson
MOLOTSCHNA
Odessa
Rybinskoye Reservoir
Volga River
Moscow
Oka River
Don River
Donets River
Rostov
Volgograd
Volga River
Don River
Kuban River
KUBAN
SUVOROVKA
Kuma River
TEREK
Caucasus Mountains
GEORGIA
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
RUSSIA
Kazan
Belaya River
Ufa
UFA
ALT SAMARA
Samara
NEU SAMARA
ORENBURG
Orenburg
ARKADAK
Saratov
AM TRAKT
Ural River
KAZAKHSTAN
Ural Mountains

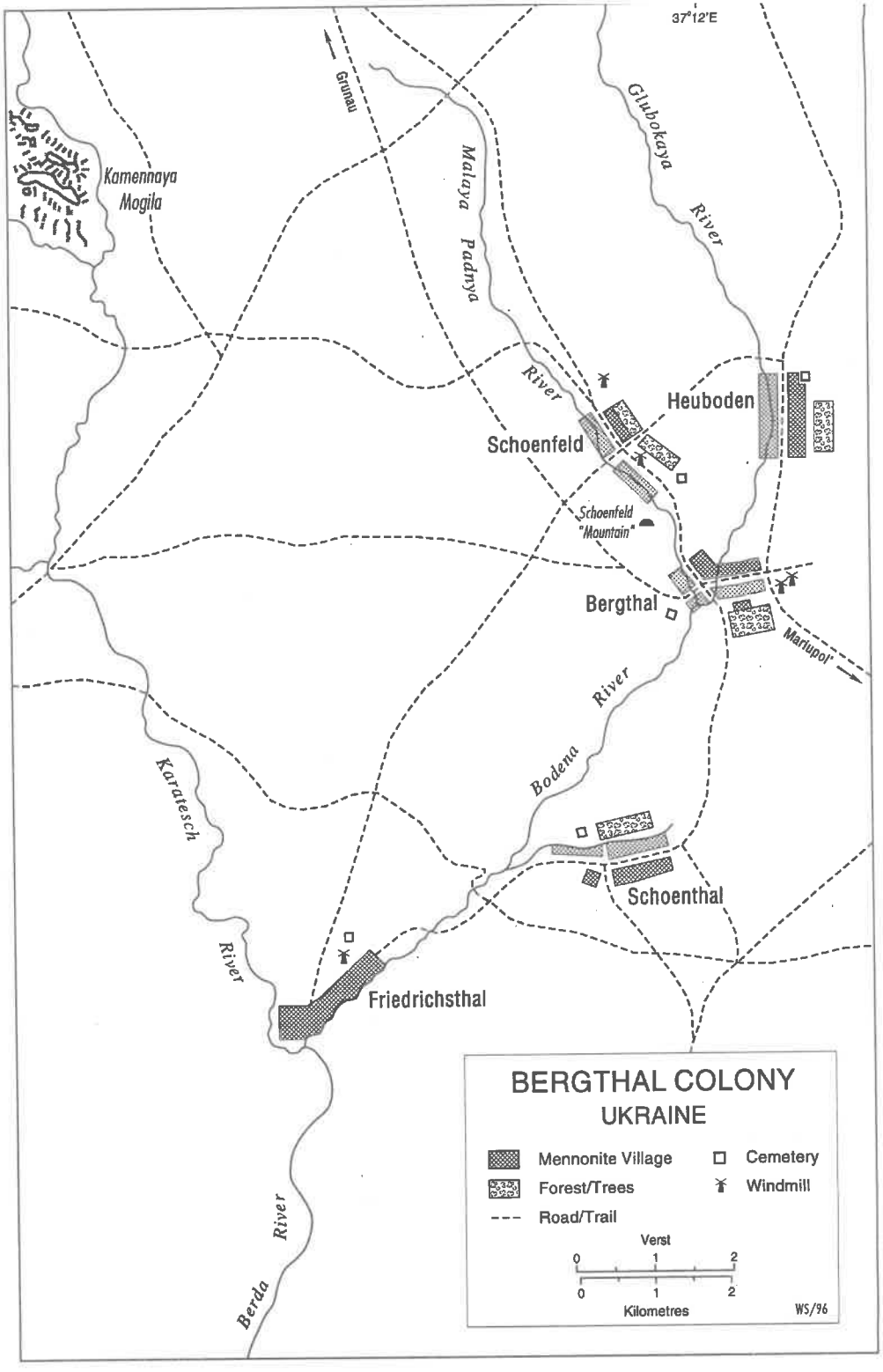

35°E
48°N
45°N
Dniepr
Samara
River
BORISSOVO
Konstantinovka
IGNATYEVO
Ekaterinoslav
(Dnepropetrovsk)
SCHLACHTIN
BARATOV
Krivoy
Rog
YAZYKOVO
MEMRIK
BOROZENKO
Alexandrovsk
(Zaporozh'ye)
Donetsk
CHORTITZA
NEPLUYEVKA
SCHOENFELD
Gulyaipole
Yuzhnyy Bug River
Ingul
Ingulets
SAGRADOVKA
Nikopol'
FUERSTENLAND
Tokmak
BERGTHAL
Taganrog
MOLOTSCHNA
Nikolayev
Mariupol'
Berislav
Melitopol'
Kherson
Berdyansk
Sea of Azov
Black Sea
CRIMEA
Salgir River
Karassan
Tchongrav
Kerch
Spat
Feodosiya
Simferopol
Bakhchisaray
Sevastopol
Yalta
MENNONITE COLONIES
IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE
Mennonite Colony
Mennonite Village
Ukrainian/Russian City or Town
Verst
0
50
100
0
50
100
Kilometres
WS/95

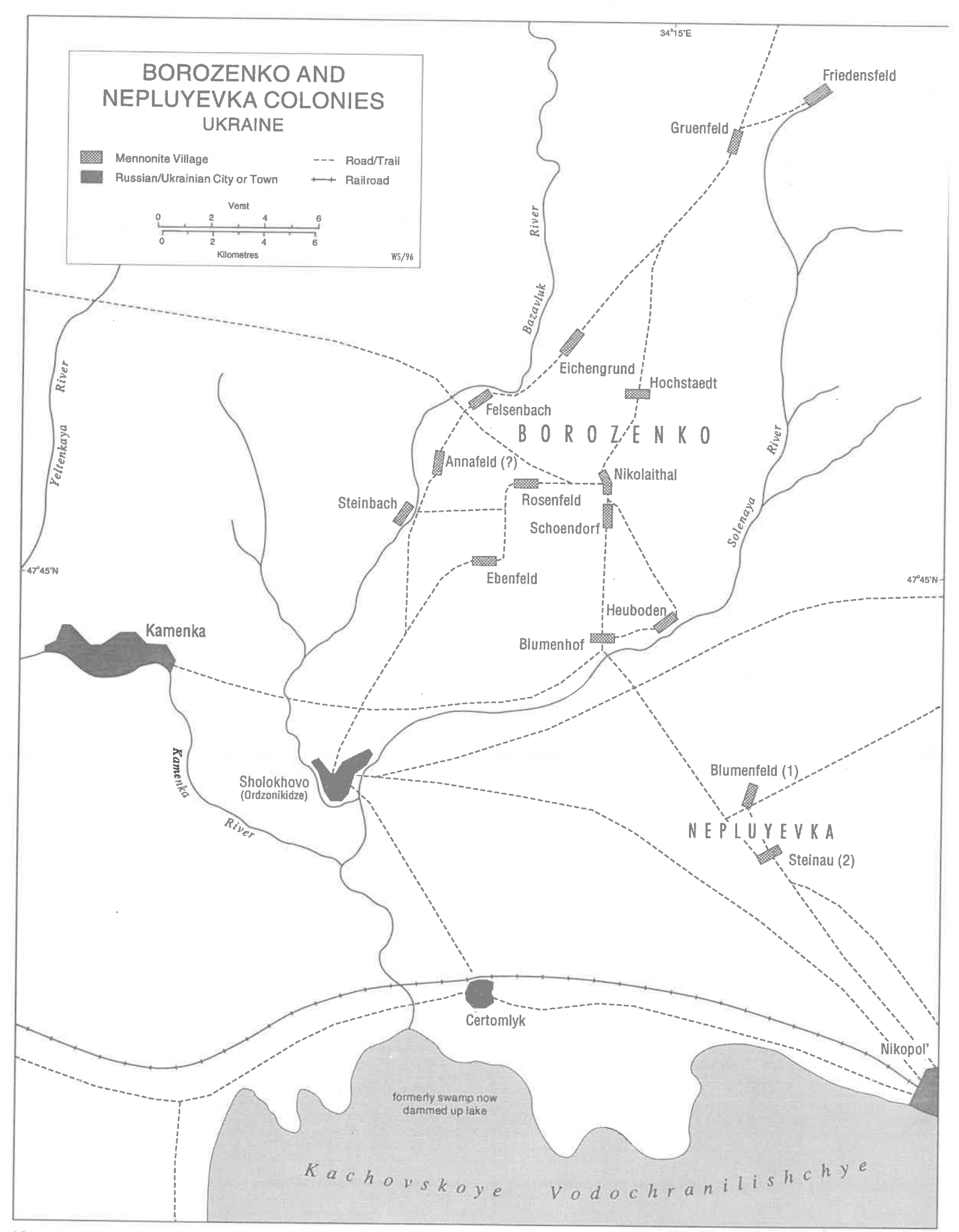

ARKADAK COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Mennonite Village
Russian Town
Railroad
Verst
0 1 2
0 1 2
Kilometres
WS/96
Leonidovka (6)
Lidyevka (7)
Vyazemskoye (5)
Railway
Ryasan-Ural
Bolshoy Arkadak
Dmitrovka (3)
Arkadak
River
Khoper
River
Vladimirovka (1)
Marianovka (4)
Borissopol (2)
52°N
43°30"E

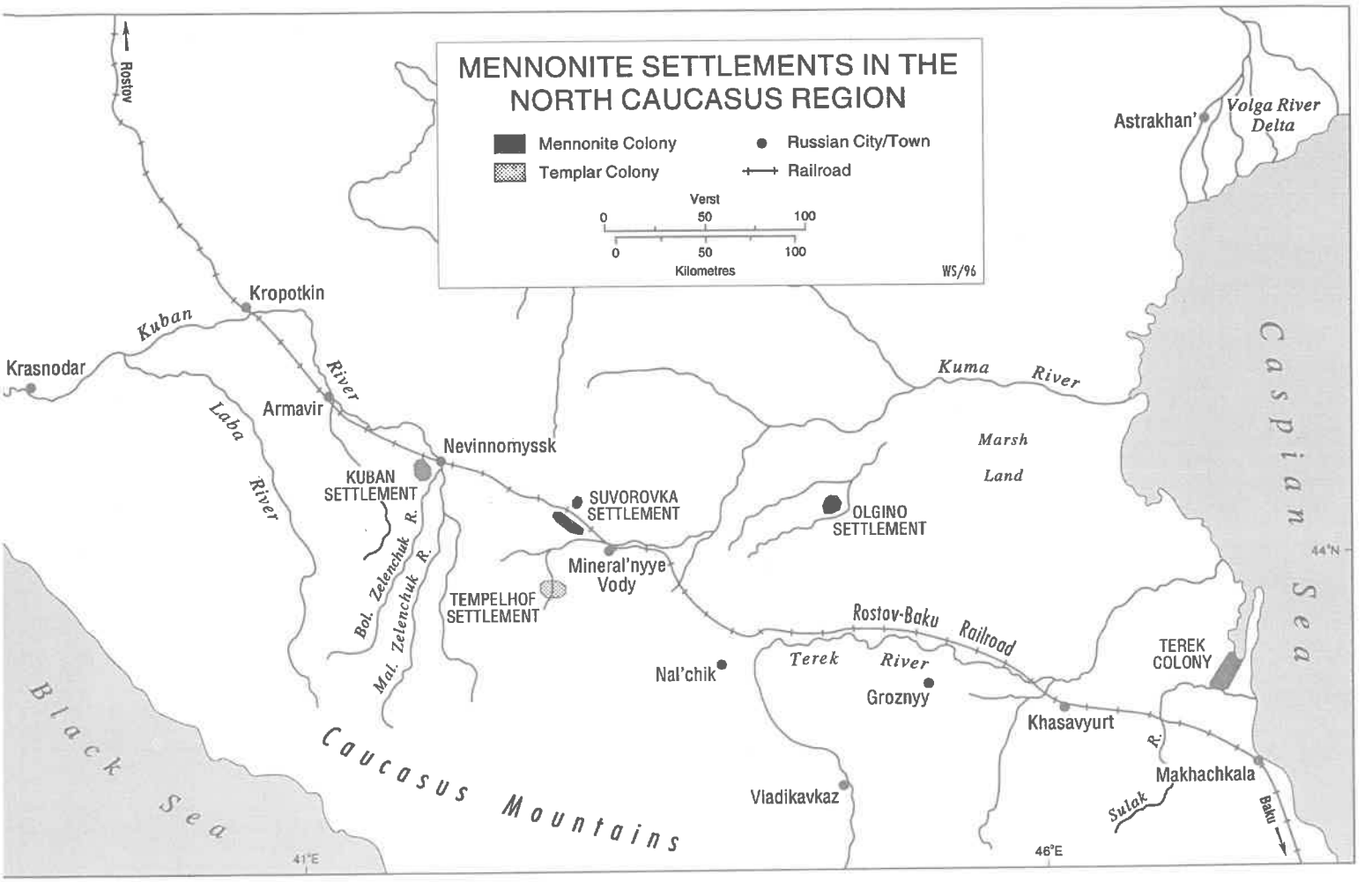

BORISSOVO COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Mennonite Village
Russian City/Town/Village
Road/Trail
Railroad
Verst
0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3
Kilometres
WS/96
Govrilovka
Toretskiy
Kondratyevka
Useenovo
Konstantinovka
Krivoy Torets
River
Lyubomirovka
Nikolaifeld
(Nikolaipol)
48°35'N
37°35'E

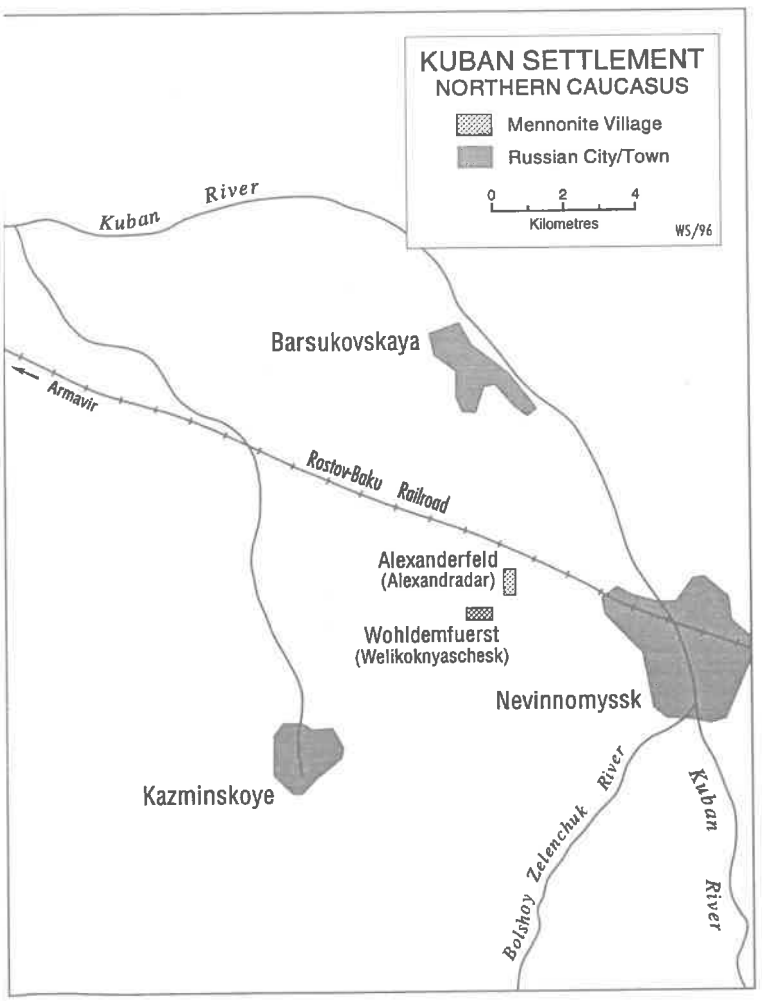

Grunau
Chortitza
Kamennaya Mogila
Heuboden
Schoenfeld
BERGTHAL
Bergthal
Schoenthal
Friedrichsthal
Kalchik River
Kalmus River
Berda River
Mariupol'
Sea of Azov
BERGTHAL COLONY AND ENVIRONS
Mennonite Village
German Village
Russian City
Road/Trail
0 5 10
Kilometres
WS/96

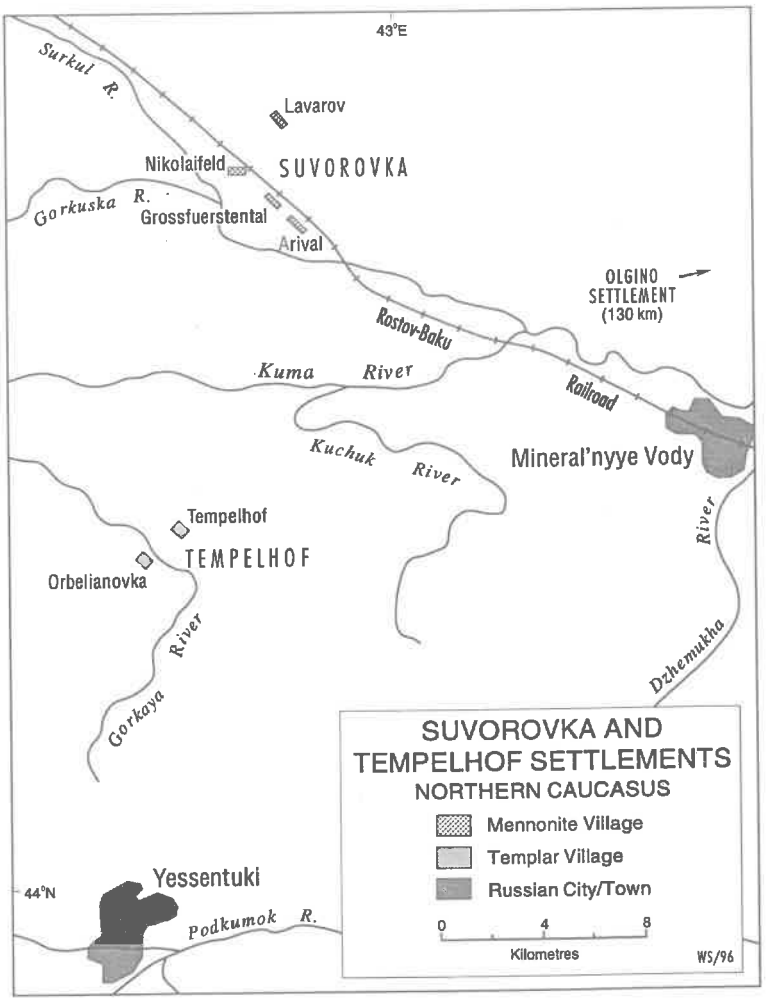

Schoenfeld "Mountain"
Schoenfeld
sand pit
BERGTHAL
BERGTHAL COLONY IN 1848
Forest/Trees
Road/Trail
Verst
0 .2 .4
0 .2 .4
Kilometres
WS/96
School
Municipal Office
Village
Granary
Church
Cemetery
Landless
Landless
Grunau
Bodena River
Schoenthal
Mariupol'

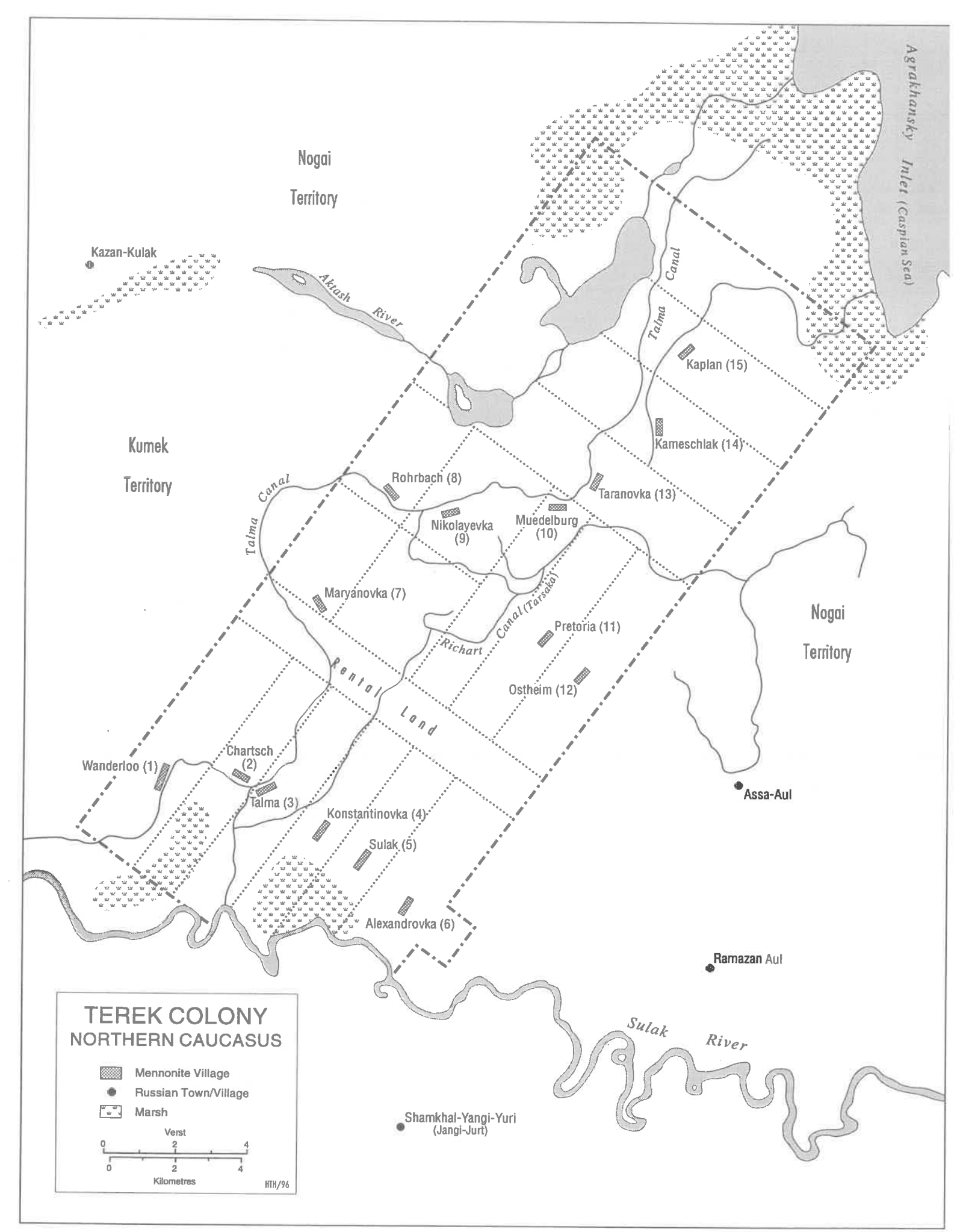

37°12'E
Grunau
Kamennaya Mogila
Malaya Padnya River
Glubokaya River
Heuboden
Schoenfeld
Schoenfeld "Mountain"
Bergthal
Mariupol'
Bodena River
Karatesch River
Schoenthal
Friedrichsthal
Berda River
BERGTHAL COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Forest/Trees
Road/Trail
Cemetery
Windmill
Verst
0 1 2
0 1 2
Kilometres
WS/96

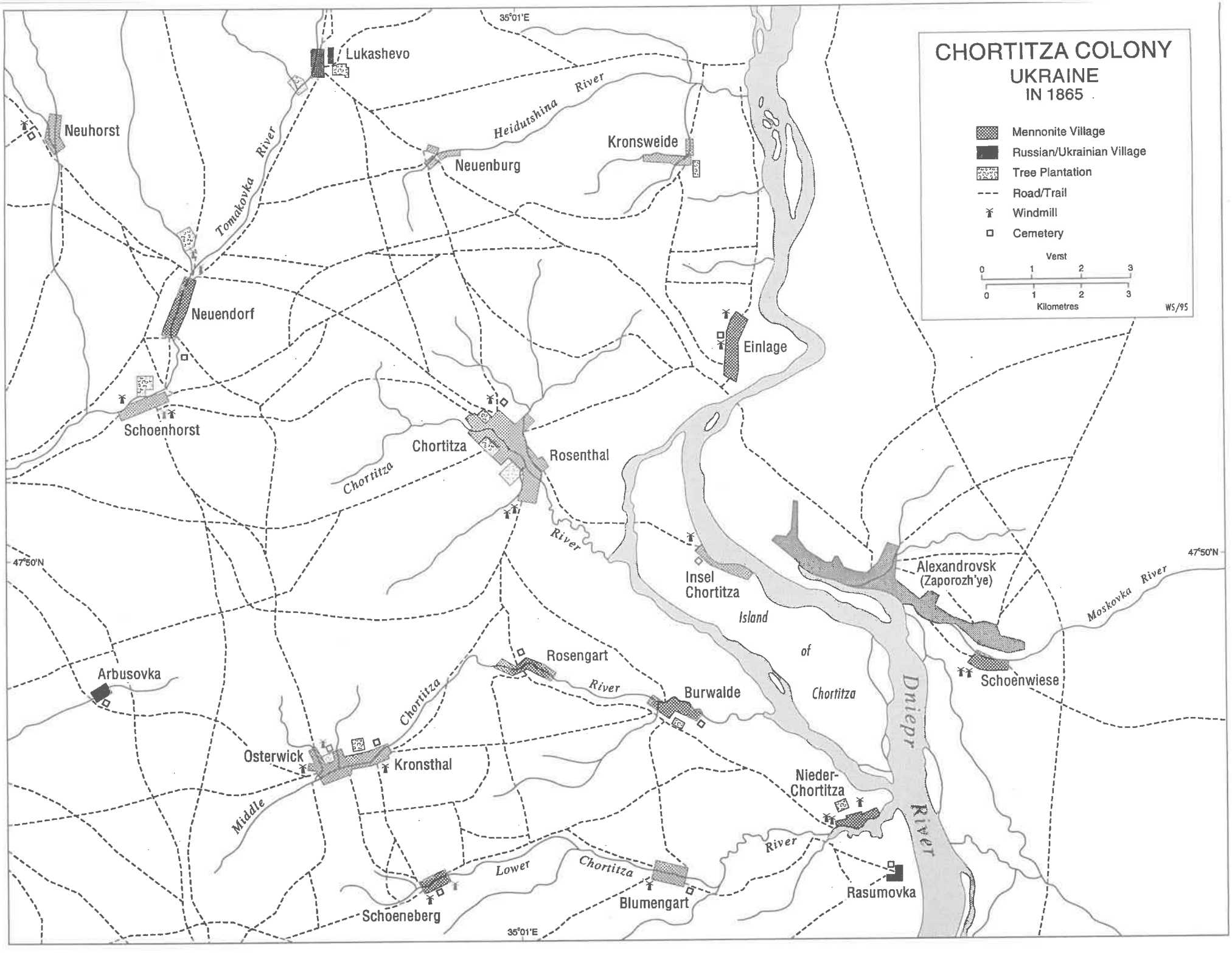

BOROZENKO AND
NEPLUYEVKA COLONIES
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian City or Town
Road/Trail
Railroad
Verst
0 2 4 6
0 2 4 6
Kilometres
WS/96
34°15'E
Friedensfeld
Gruenfeld
Bazavluk River
Eichengrund
Hochstaedt
Felsenbach
BOROZENKO
Annafeld (?)
Nikolaithal
Steinbach
Rosenfeld
Schoendorf
Ebenfeld
Yeltenkaya River
Solenaya River
47°45'N
47°45'N
Heuboden
Kamenka
Blumenhof
Kamenka River
Sholokhovo
(Ordzonikidze)
Blumenfeld (1)
NEPLUYEVKA
Steinau (2)
Certomlyk
Nikopol'
formerly swamp now
dammed up lake
Kachovskoye Vodochranilishchye

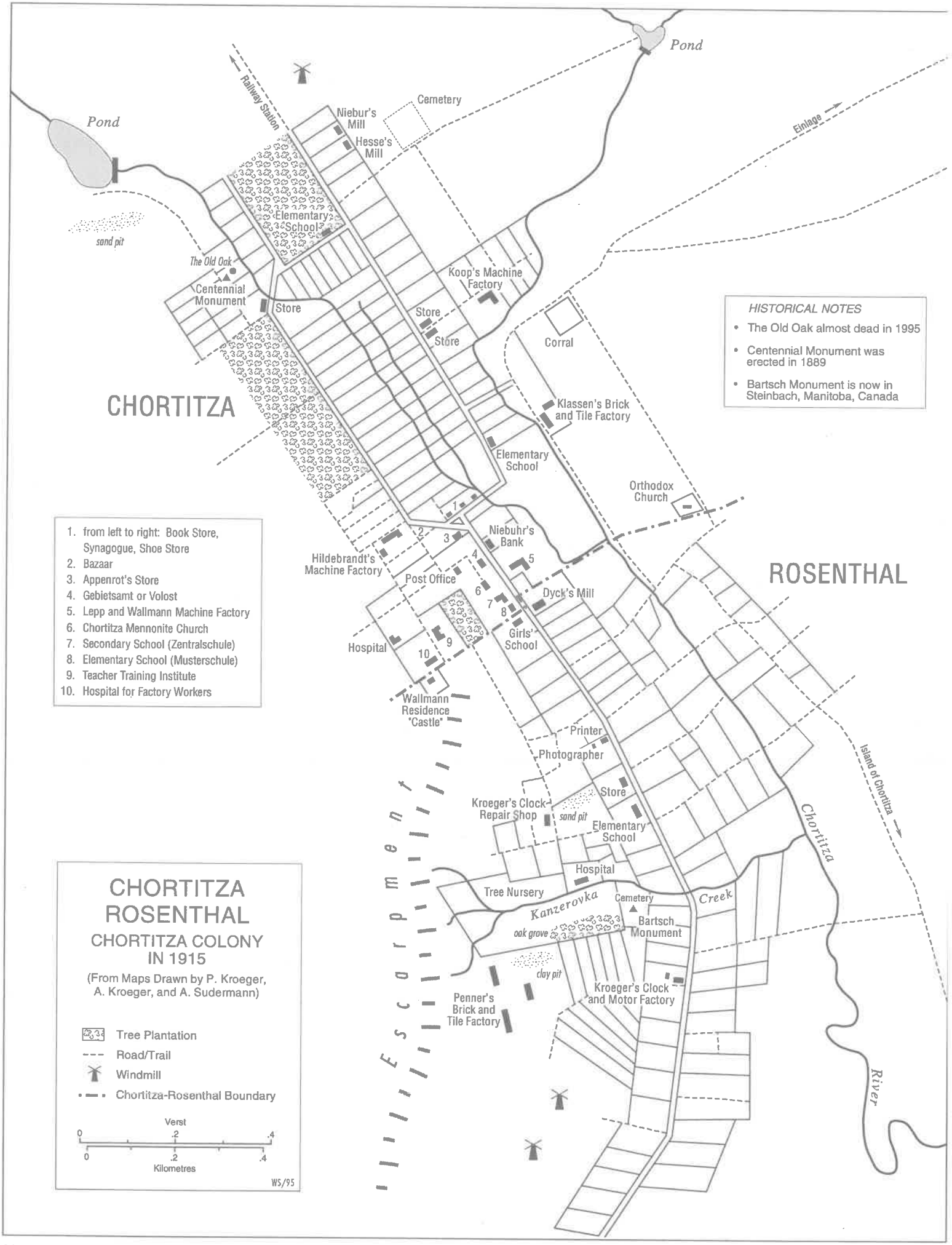

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS REGION
Mennonite Colony
Templar Colony
Russian City/Town
Railroad
Verst
0 50 100
0 50 100
Kilometres
WS/96
Rostov
Kropotkin
Kuban River
Krasnodar
Armavir
Laba River
Nevinnomyssk
KUBAN SETTLEMENT
SUVOROVKA SETTLEMENT
OLGINO SETTLEMENT
Mineral'nyye Vody
TEMPELHOF SETTLEMENT
Bol. Zelenchuk R.
Mal. Zelenchuk R.
Nal'chik
Terek River
Groznyy
Rostov-Baku Railroad
TEREK COLONY
Khasavyurt
Makhachkala
Sulak R.
Baku
Vladikavkaz
Caucasus Mountains
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Kuma River
Marsh Land
Astrakhan'
Volga River Delta
41°E
44°N
46°E


KUBAN SETTLEMENT
NORTHERN CAUCASUS
Mennonite Village
Russian City/Town
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
Kuban River
Armavir
Barsukovskaya
Rostov-Baku Railroad
Alexanderfeld
(Alexandradar)
Wohldemfuerst
(Welikoknyaschesk)
Nevinnomyssk
Kazminskoye
Bolshoy Zelenchuk River
Kuban River


43°E
Surkul R.
Lavarov
Nikolaifeld
SUVOROVKA
Gorkuska R.
Grossfuerstental
Arival
OLGINO SETTLEMENT (130 km)
Rostov-Baku Railroad
Kuma River
Kuchuk River
Mineral'nyye Vody
Tempelhof
TEMPELHOF
Orbelianovka
Gorkaya River
Dzhemukha River
Yessentuki
Podkumok R.
44°N
SUVOROVKA AND TEMPELHOF SETTLEMENTS
NORTHERN CAUCASUS
Mennonite Village
Templar Village
Russian City/Town
0 4 8
Kilometres
WS/96


Nogai
Territory
Kazan-Kulak
Aktash River
Agrakhansky Inlet (Caspian Sea)
Talma Canal
Kaplan (15)
Kumek
Territory
Kameschlak (14)
Rohrbach (8)
Taranovka (13)
Talma Canal
Nikolayevka (9)
Muedelburg (10)
Maryanovka (7)
Richart Canal (Tarsaka)
Pretoria (11)
Nogai
Territory
Rental Land
Ostheim (12)
Chartsch (2)
Wanderloo (1)
Talma (3)
Konstantinovka (4)
Assa-Aul
Sulak (5)
Alexandrovka (6)
Ramazan Aul
Sulak River
Shamkhal-Yangi-Yuri
(Jangi-Jurt)
TEREK COLONY
NORTHERN CAUCASUS
Mennonite Village
Russian Town/Village
Marsh
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
HTH/96


CHORTITZA COLONY
UKRAINE
IN 1865
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Village
Tree Plantation
Road/Trail
Windmill
Cemetery
Verst
0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3
Kilometres
WS/95
35°01'E
47°50'N
Lukashevo
Neuhorst
Tomakovka River
Heidutshina River
Neuenburg
Kronsweide
Neuendorf
Einlage
Schoenhorst
Chortitza
Rosenthal
Chortitza River
Insel Chortitza
Island of Chortitza
Alexandrovsk (Zaporozh'ye)
Moskovka River
Dniepr River
Schoenwiese
Rosengart
Arbusovka
Burwalde
Osterwick
Kronsthal
Middle Chortitza River
Nieder-Chortitza
Lower Chortitza River
Schoeneberg
Blumengart
Rasumovka



1. from left to right: Book Store, Synagogue, Shoe Store
2. Bazaar
3. Appenrot's Store
4. Gebietsamt or Volost
5. Lepp and Wallmann Machine Factory
6. Chortitza Mennonite Church
7. Secondary School (Zentralschule)
8. Elementary School (Musterschule)
9. Teacher Training Institute
10. Hospital for Factory Workers

HISTORICAL NOTES

- The Old Oak almost dead in 1995
- Centennial Monument was erected in 1889
- Bartsch Monument is now in Steinbach, Manitoba, Canada

CHORTITZA ROSENTHAL

CHORTITZA COLONY IN 1915

(From Maps Drawn by P. Kroeger, A. Kroeger, and A. Sudermann)

Tree Plantation

Road/Trail

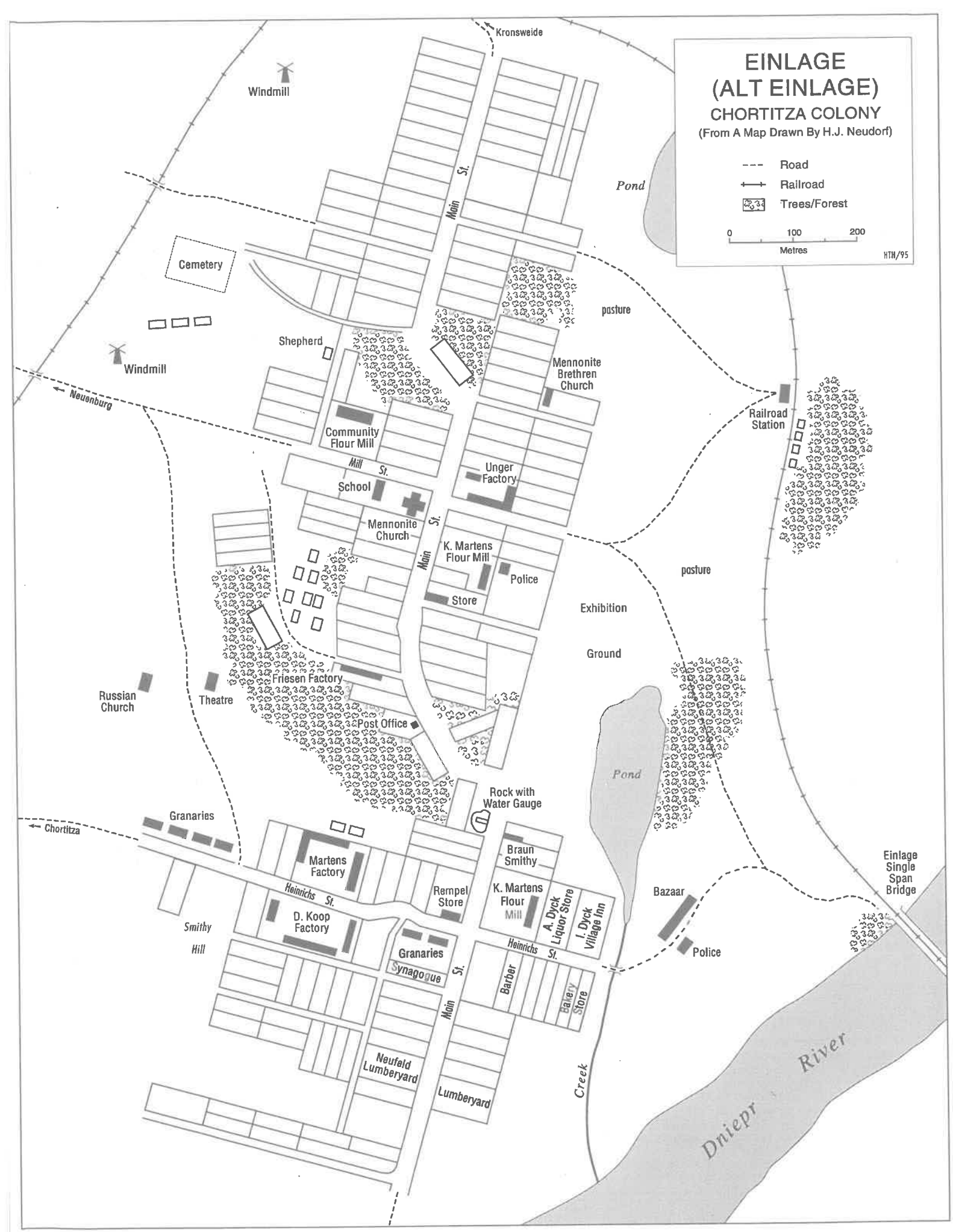
Windmill

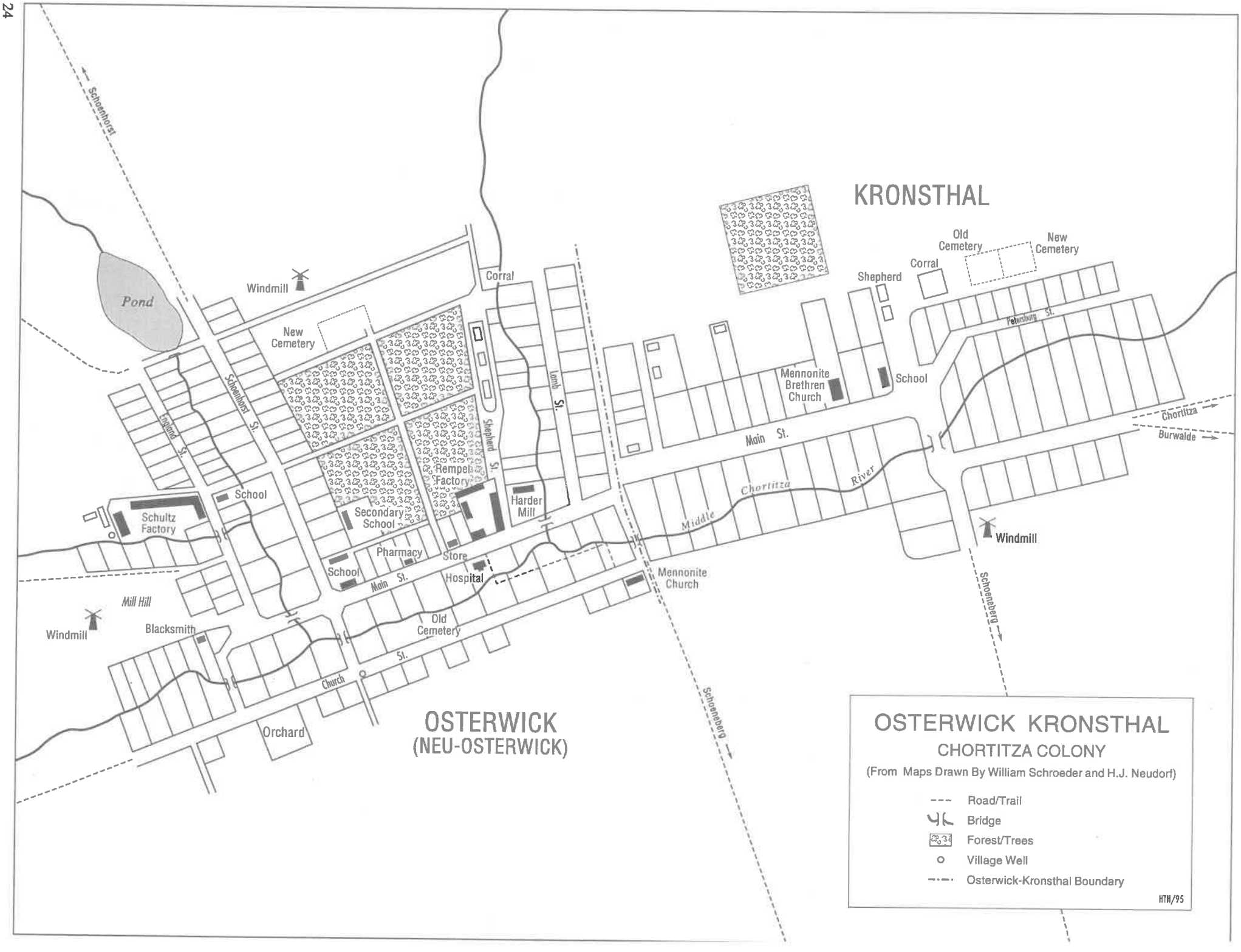
Chortitza-Rosenthal Boundary

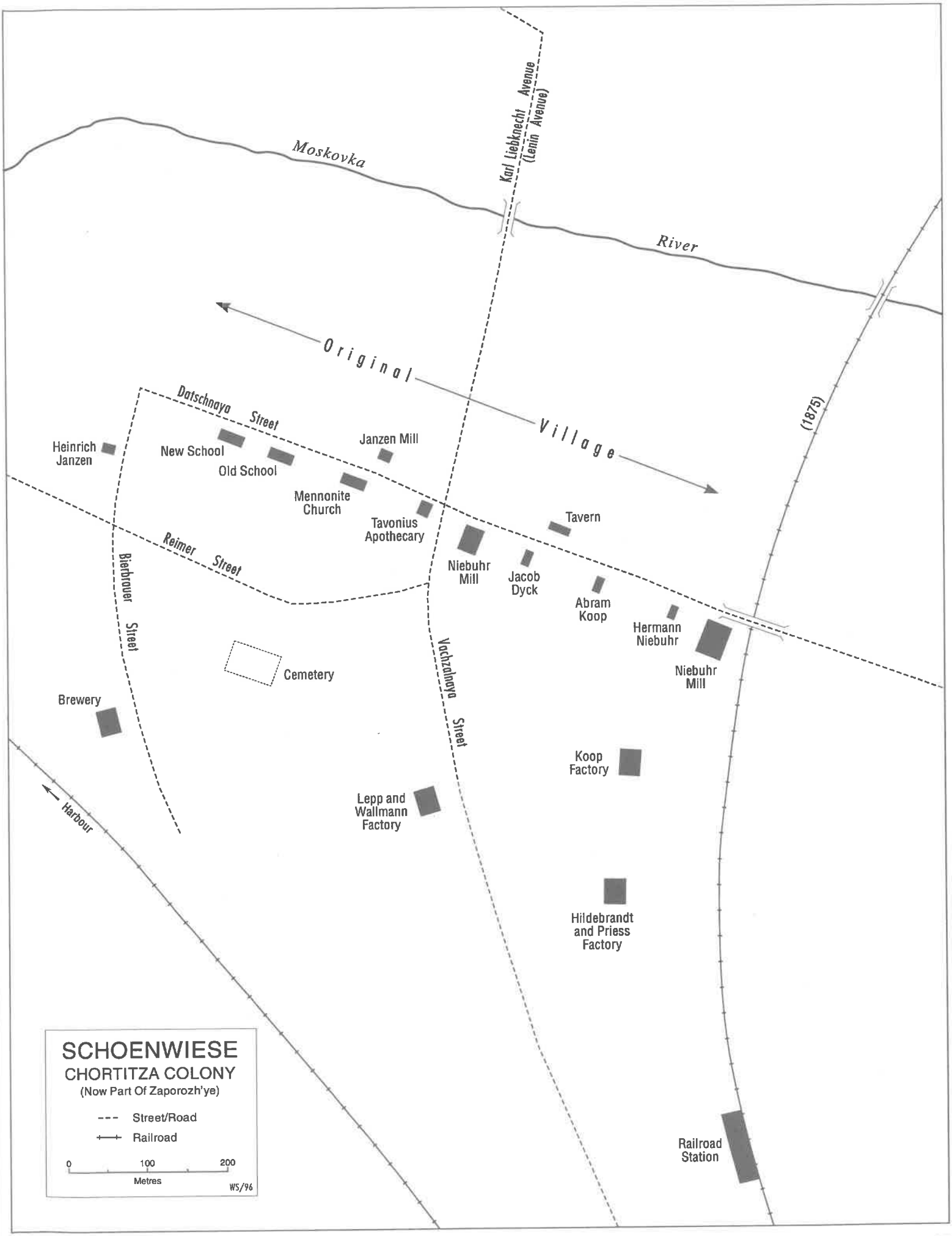
Verst 0 .2 .4

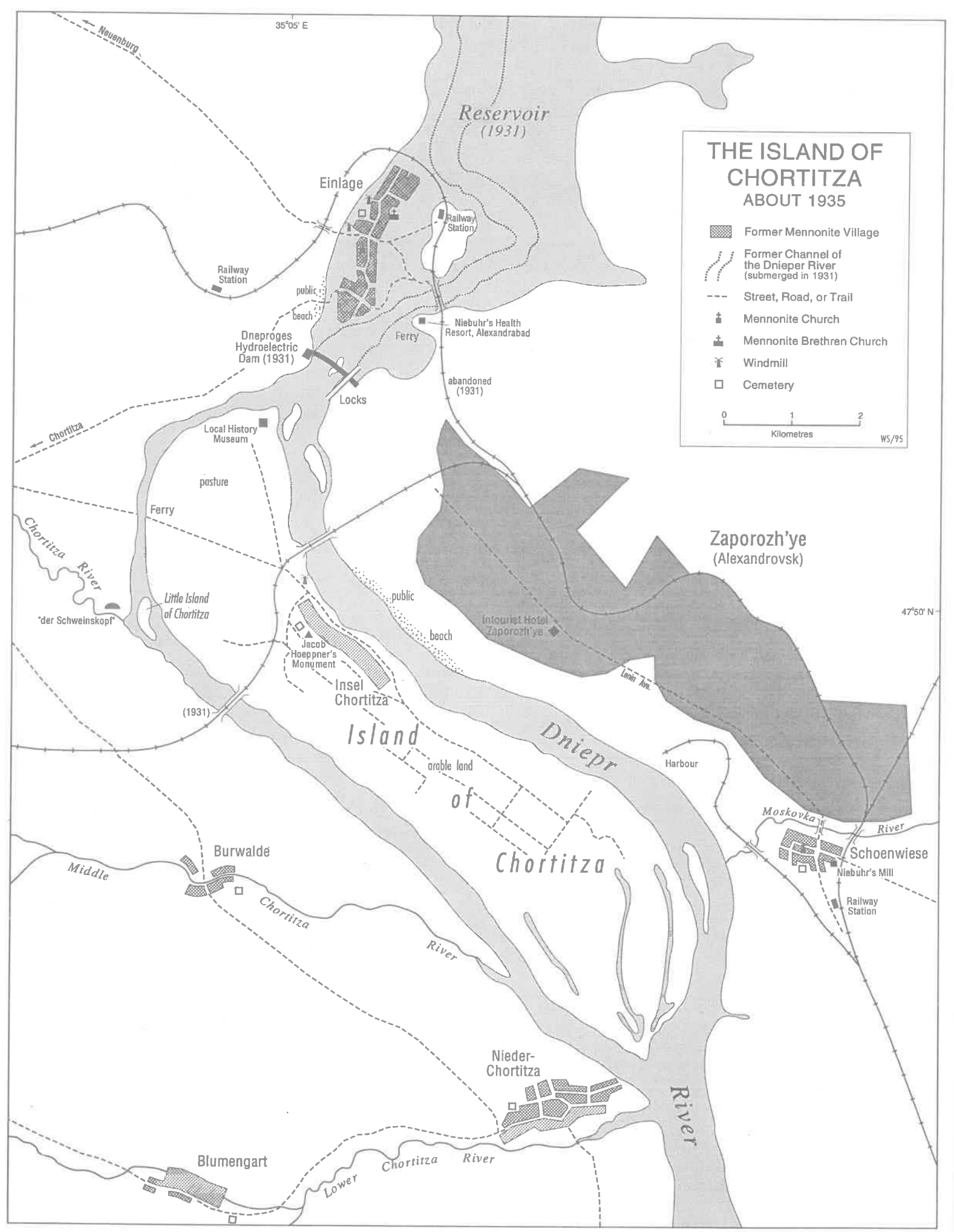
0 .2 .4 Kilometres

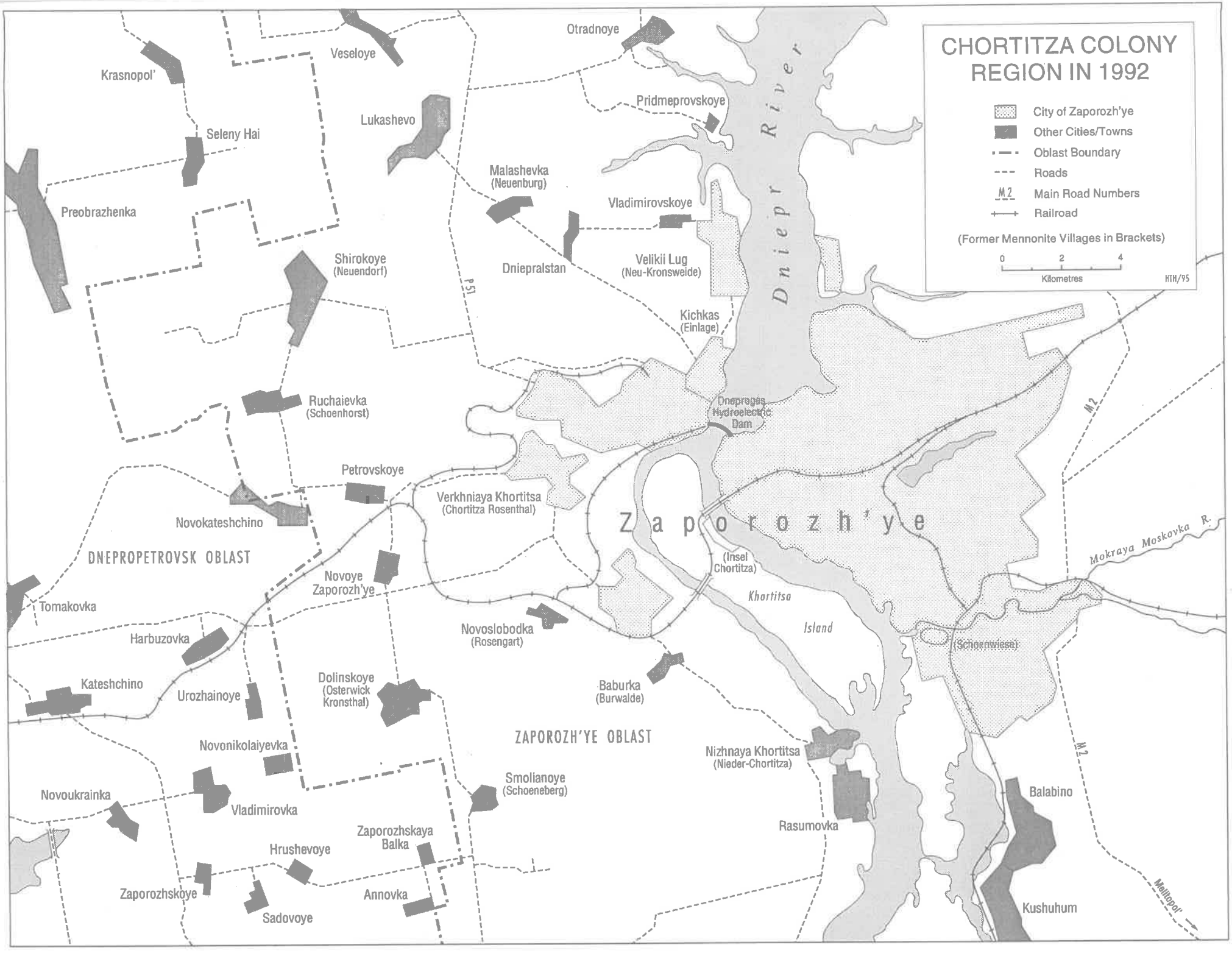
WS/95

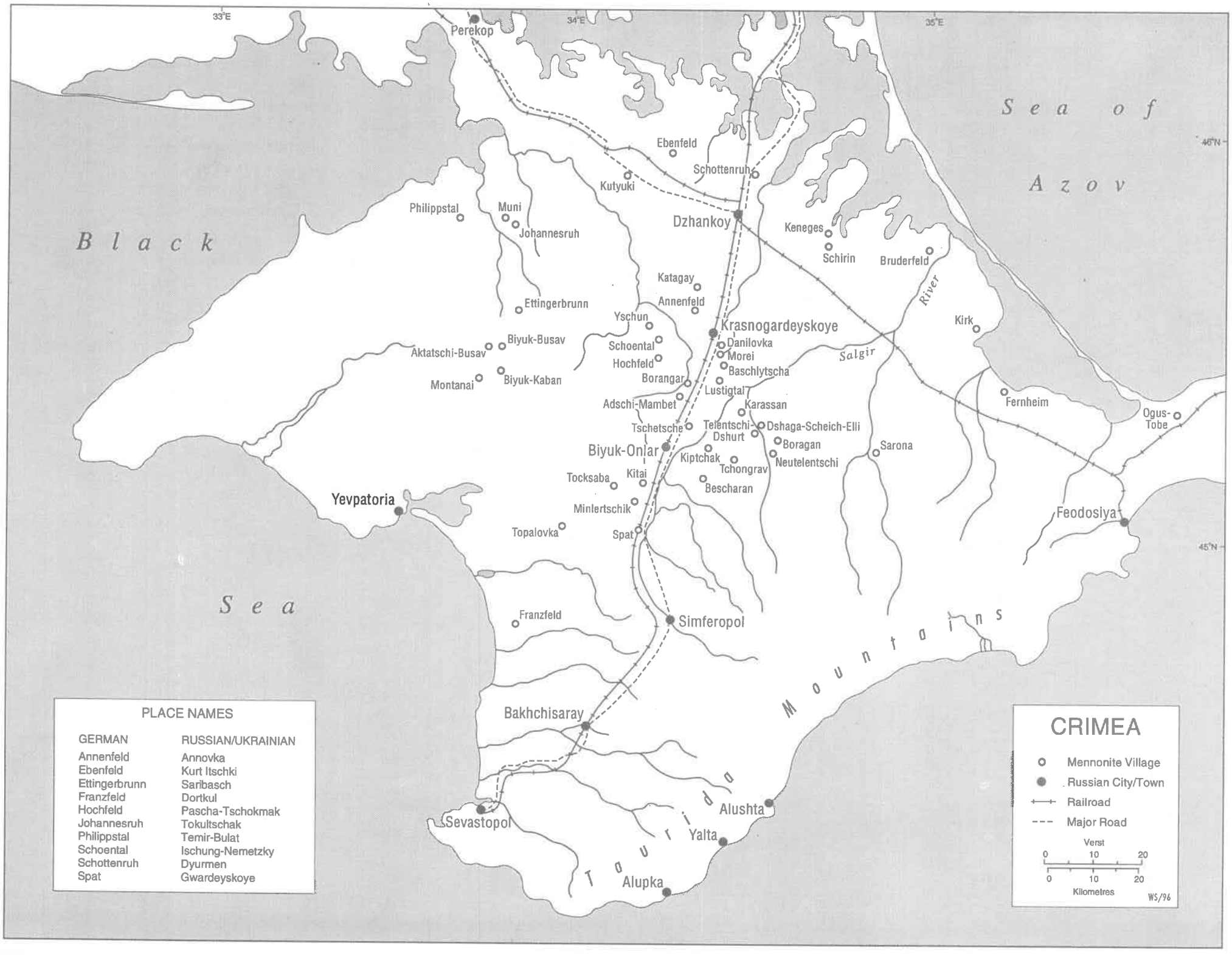

EINLAGE
(ALT EINLAGE)
CHORTITZA COLONY
(From A Map Drawn By H.J. Neudorf)
Road
Railroad
Trees/Forest
0
100
200
Metres
HTH/95
Kronsweide
Windmill
Pond
Main St.
Cemetery
pasture
Shepherd
Windmill
Mennonite Brethren Church
Neuenburg
Railroad Station
Community Flour Mill
Mill St.
School
Unger Factory
Mennonite Church
Main St.
K. Martens Flour Mill
Police
Store
pasture
Exhibition
Ground
Russian Church
Theatre
Friesen Factory
Post Office
Pond
Rock with Water Gauge
Granaries
Chortitza
Martens Factory
Braun Smithy
Heinrichs St.
Rempel Store
K. Martens Flour Mill
A. Dyck Liquor Store
J. Dyck Village Inn
Bazaar
Einlage Single Span Bridge
Smithy Hill
D. Koop Factory
Granaries
Synagogue
Main St.
Heinrichs St.
Barber
Bakery Store
Police
Neufeld Lumberyard
Lumberyard
Creek
Dniepr River


KRONSTHAL
OSTERWICK
(NEU-OSTERWICK)
Schoenhorst
Pond
Windmill
New Cemetery
Corral
Lamb St.
Shepherd St.
Schoenhorst St.
England St.
Rempel Factory
Harder Mill
School
Schultz Factory
Secondary School
Pharmacy
Store
Hospital
Main St.
Mill Hill
Windmill
Blacksmith
Old Cemetery
Church
Orchard
Mennonite Church
Schoenberg
Old Cemetery
New Cemetery
Shepherd
Corral
Mennonite Brethren Church
School
Main St.
Middle Chortitza River
Windmill
Chortitza
Burwalde
Schoenberg
OSTERWICK KRONSTHAL
CHORTITZA COLONY
(From Maps Drawn By William Schroeder and H.J. Neudorf)
Road/Trail
Bridge
Forest/Trees
Village Well
Osterwick-Kronsthal Boundary
HTH/95


Moskovka River
Karl Liebknecht Avenue (Lenin Avenue)
Original Village
(1875)
Datschnaya Street
Heinrich Janzen
New School
Old School
Janzen Mill
Mennonite Church
Tavonius Apothecary
Tavern
Reimer Street
Bierbrauer Street
Niebuhr Mill
Jacob Dyck
Abram Koop
Hermann Niebuhr
Niebuhr Mill
Cemetery
Vochzalnaya Street
Brewery
Koop Factory
Harbour
Lepp and Wallmann Factory
Hildebrandt and Priess Factory
Railroad Station
SCHOENWIESE
CHORTITZA COLONY
(Now Part Of Zaporozh'ye)
Street/Road
Railroad
0 100 200
Metres
WS/96


THE ISLAND OF CHORTITZA
ABOUT 1935
Former Mennonite Village
Former Channel of the Dnieper River (submerged in 1931)
Street, Road, or Trail
Mennonite Church
Mennonite Brethren Church
Windmill
Cemetery
0 1 2
Kilometres
WS/95
35°05' E
47°50' N
Neuenburg
Reservoir (1931)
Einlage
Railway Station
Railway Station
public beach
Dneproges Hydroelectric Dam (1931)
Ferry
Niebuhr's Health Resort, Alexandrabad
abandoned (1931)
Locks
Chortitza
Local History Museum
pasture
Ferry
Chortitza River
"der Schweinskopf"
Little Island of Chortitza
Zaporozh'ye (Alexandrovsk)
public beach
Intourist Hotel Zaporozh'ye
Lenin Ave.
Jacob Hoeppner's Monument
Insel Chortitza
(1931)
Island of Chortitza
arable land
Dniepr
Harbour
Moskovka River
Schoenwiese
Niebuhr's Mill
Railway Station
Burwalde
Middle Chortitza River
Nieder-Chortitza
River
Blumengart
Lower Chortitza River


CHORTITZA COLONY REGION IN 1992
City of Zaporozh'ye
Other Cities/Towns
Oblast Boundary
Roads
M2 Main Road Numbers
Railroad
(Former Mennonite Villages in Brackets)
0 2 4
Kilometres
HTH/95
Dniepr River
Otradnoye
Veseloye
Krasnopol'
Pridmeprovskoye
Lukashevo
Seleny Hai
Malashevka (Neuenburg)
Vladimirovskoye
Preobrazhenka
Shirokoye (Neuendorf)
Dniepralstan
Velikii Lug (Neu-Kronsweide)
P51
Kichkas (Einlage)
Ruchaievka (Schoenhorst)
Dnepreges Hydroelectric Dam
M2
Petrovskoye
Verkhniaya Khortitsa (Chortitza Rosenthal)
Novokateshchino
Z a p o r o z h ' y e
DNEPROPETROVSK OBLAST
(Insel Chortitza)
Mokraya Moskovka R.
Novoye Zaporozh'ye
Khortitsa
Island
Tomakovka
Novoslobodka (Rosengart)
Schoenwiese
Harbuzovka
Baburka (Burwalde)
Kateshchino
Urozhainoye
Dolinskoye (Osterwick Kronsthal)
ZAPOROZH'YE OBLAST
Nizhnaya Khortitsa (Nieder-Chortitza)
Novonikolaiyevka
Smolianoye (Schoeneberg)
Balabino
Novoukrainka
Vladimirovka
Rasumovka
Zaporozhskaya Balka
Hrushevoye
Zaporozhskoye
Annovka
Kushuhum
Sadovoye
Melitopol'



PLACE NAMES

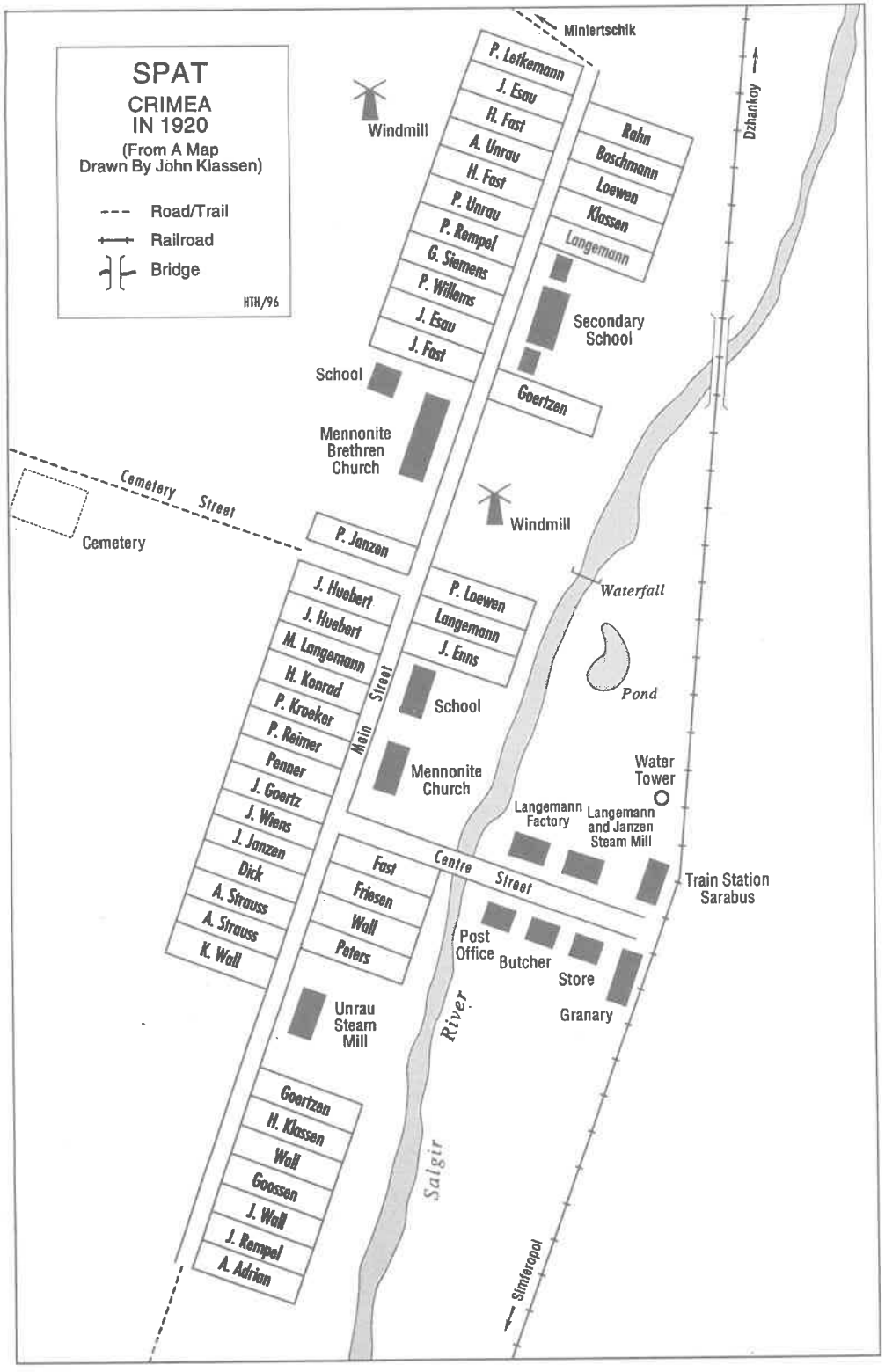
GERMAN	RUSSIAN/UKRAINIAN
Annenfeld	Annovka
Ebenfeld	Kurt Itschki
Ettingerbrunn	Saribasch
Franzfeld	Dortkul
Hochfeld	Pascha-Tschokmak
Johannesruh	Tokultschak
Philippstal	Temir-Bulat
Schoental	Ischung-Nemetzky
Schottenruh	Dyurmen
Spat	Gwardeyskoye

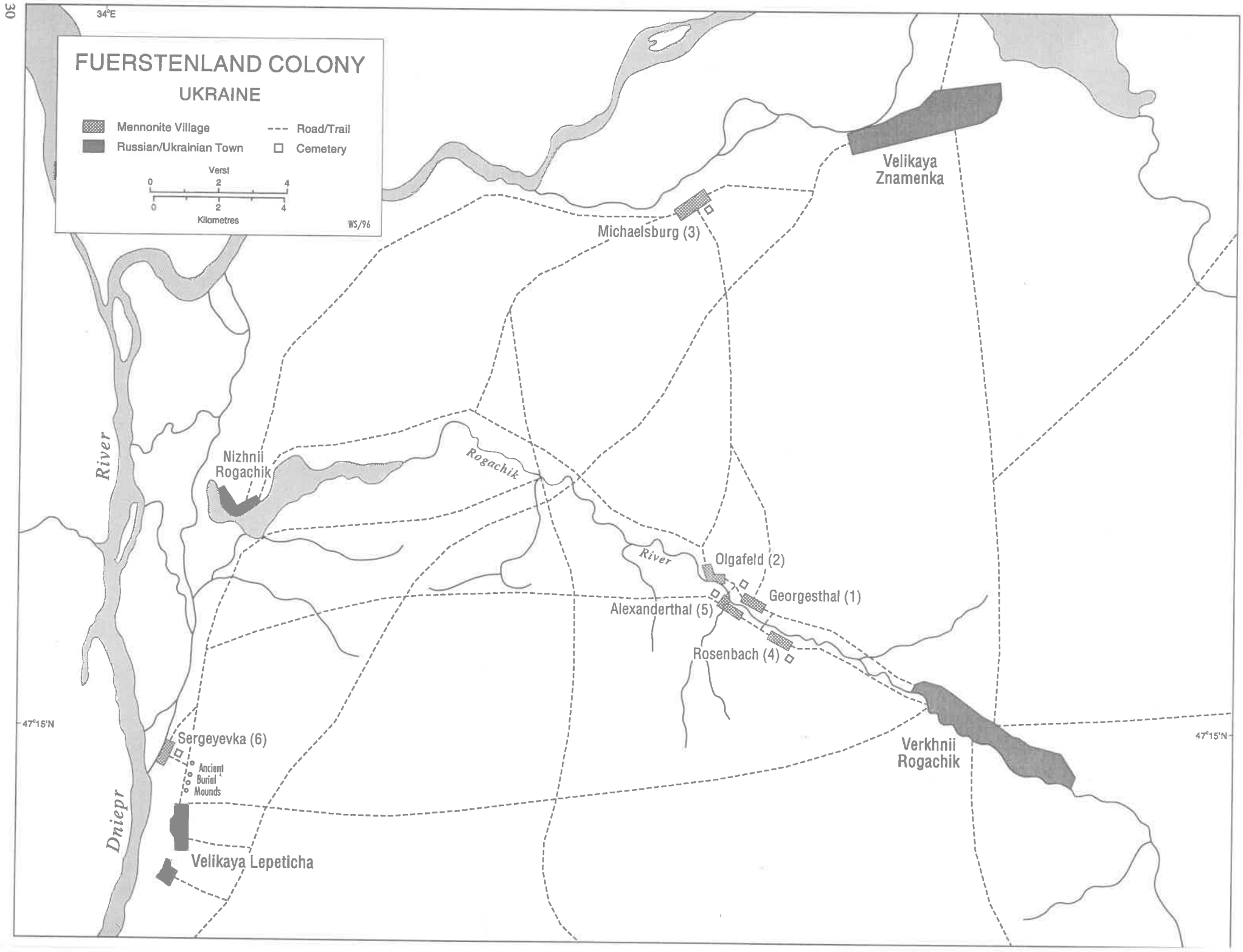
CRIMEA

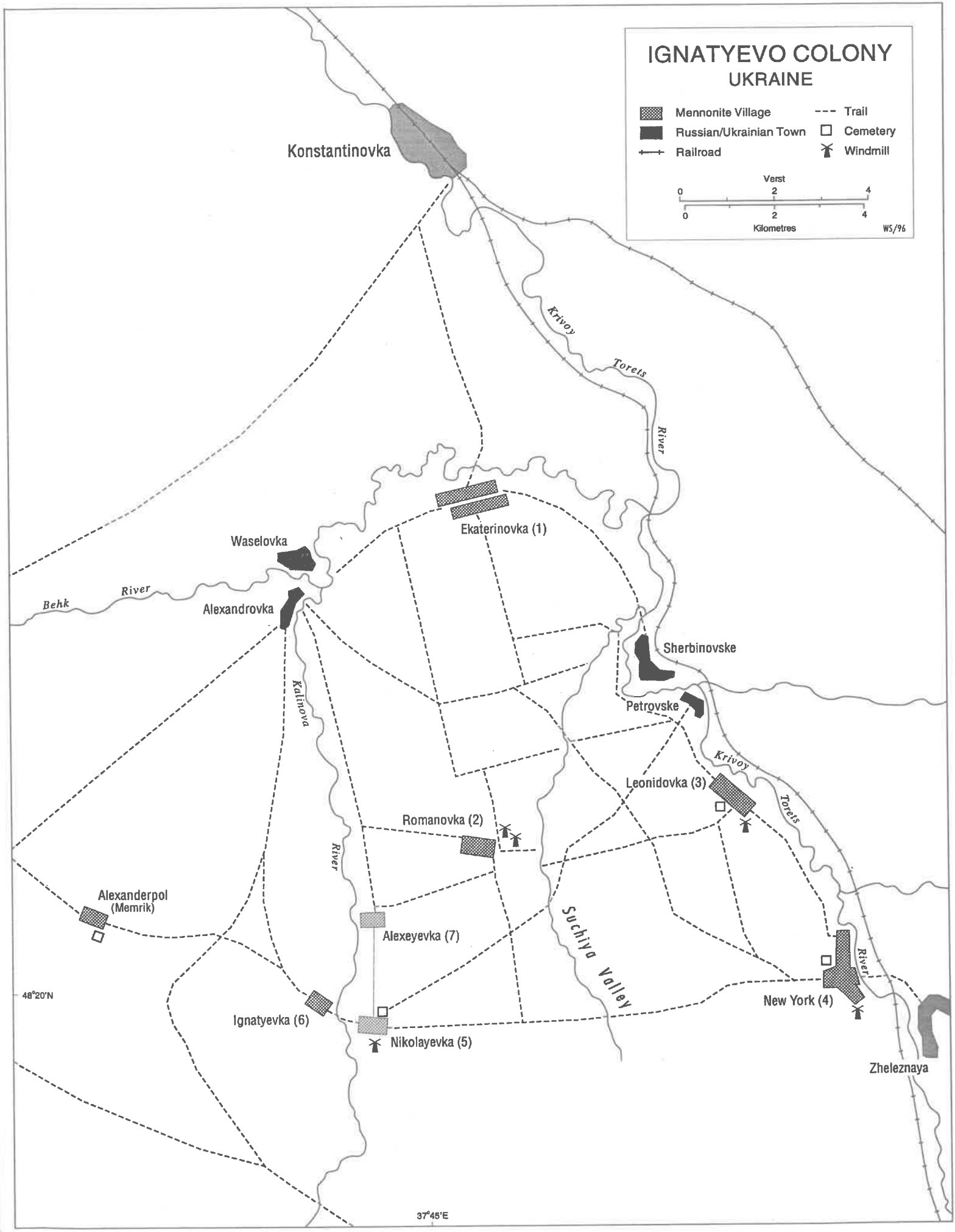
- Mennonite Village
- Russian City/Town
- Railroad
- Major Road

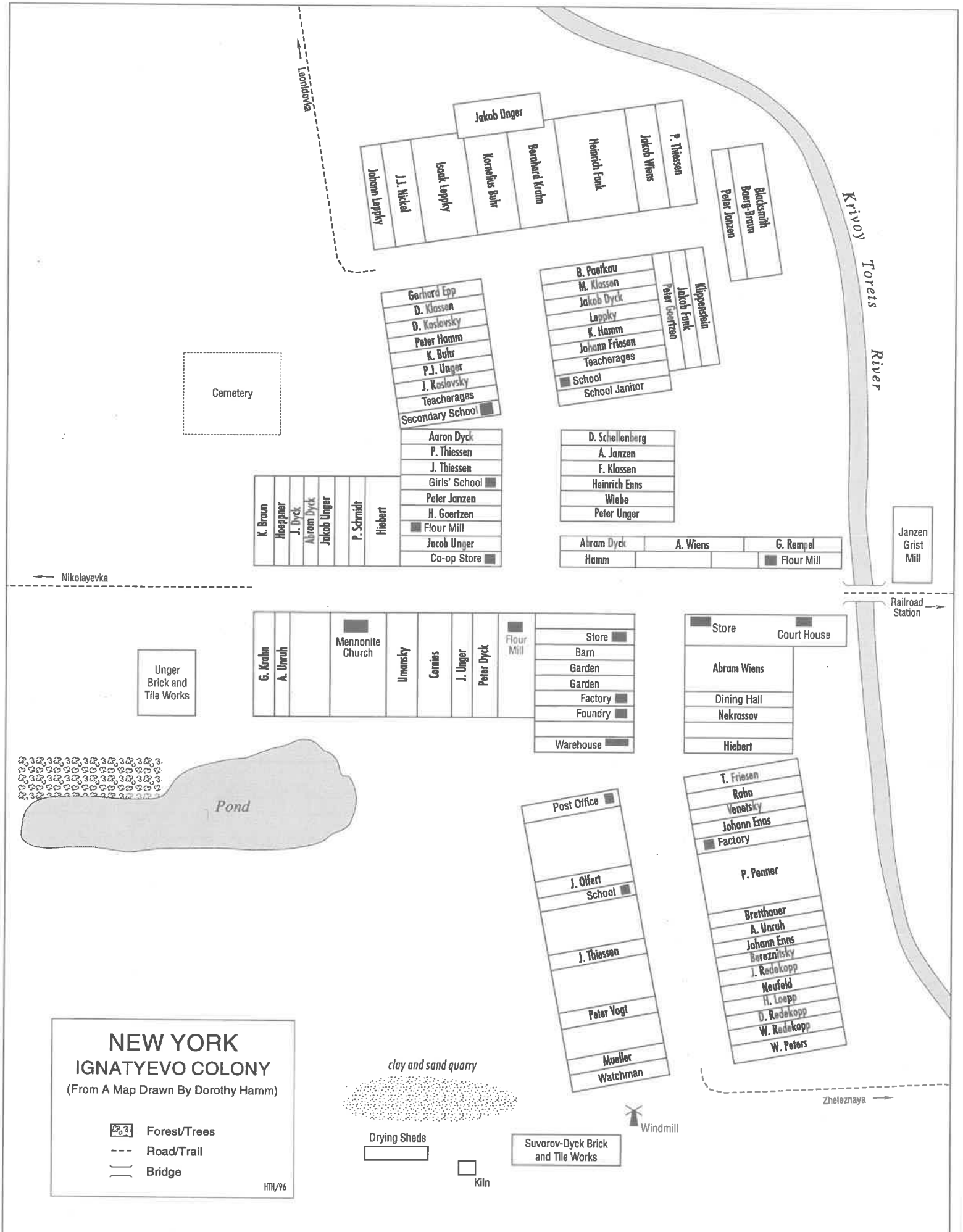
Verst 0 10 20
0 10 20 Kilometres

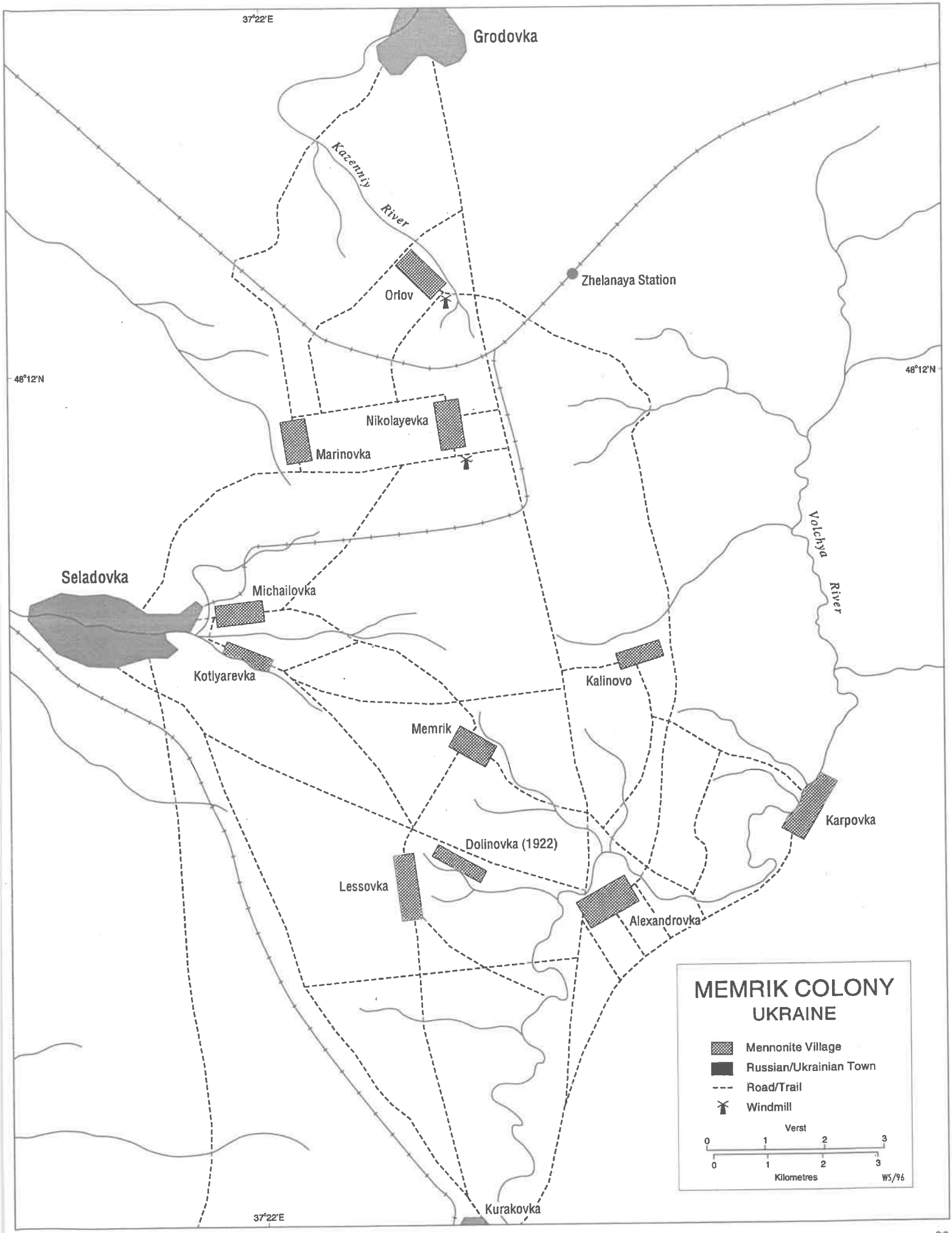
WS/96

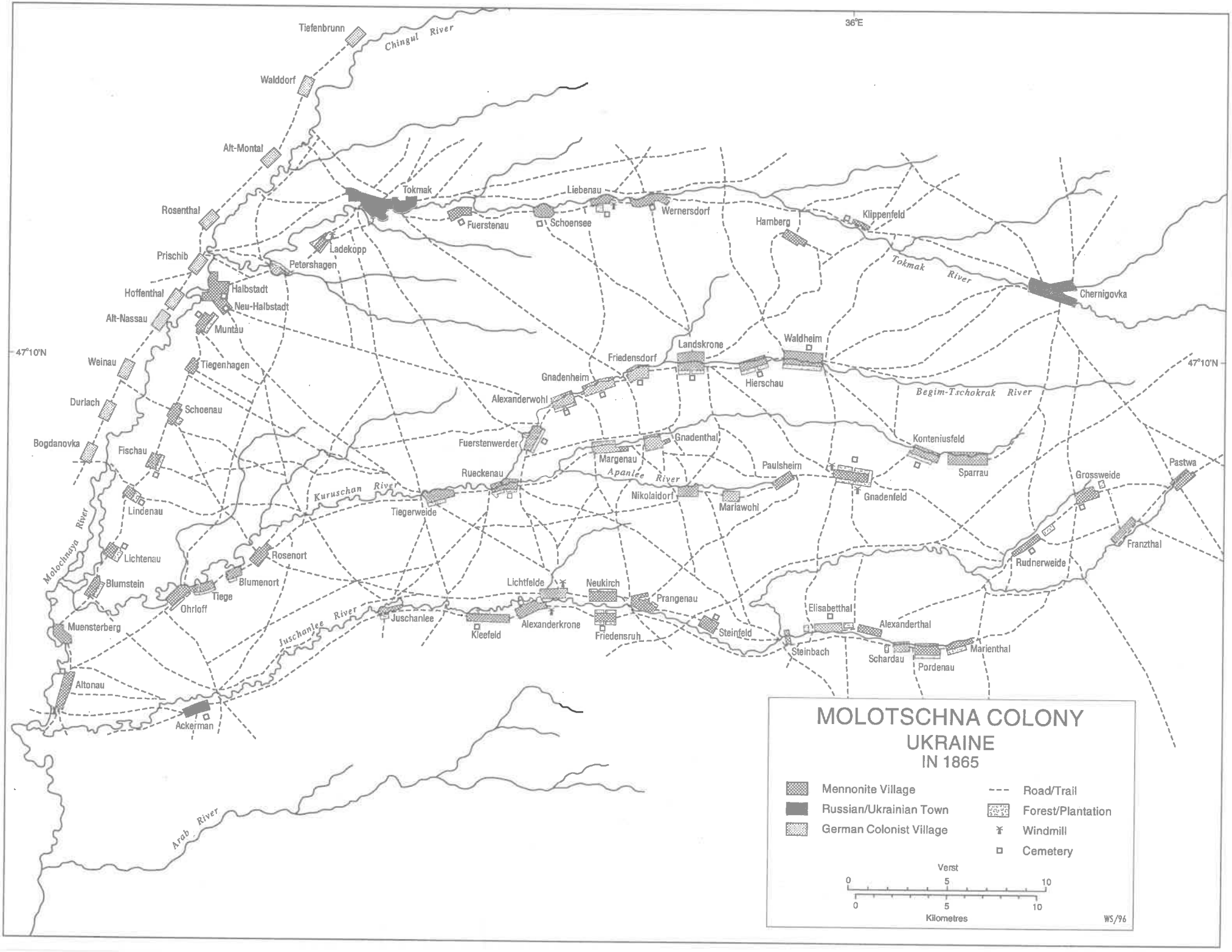

SPAT
CRIMEA
IN 1920
(From A Map
Drawn By John Klassen)
Road/Trail
Railroad
Bridge
HTH/96
Minlertschik
Dzhankoy
Windmill
P. Letkemann
J. Esau
H. Fast
A. Unrau
H. Fast
P. Unrau
P. Rempel
G. Siemens
P. Willems
J. Esau
J. Fast
Rahn
Boschmann
Loewen
Klassen
Langemann
Secondary School
Goertzen
School
Mennonite Brethren Church
Cemetery Street
Cemetery
Windmill
P. Janzen
J. Huebert
J. Huebert
M. Langemann
H. Konrad
P. Kroeker
P. Reimer
Penner
J. Goertz
J. Wiens
J. Janzen
Dick
A. Strauss
A. Strauss
K. Woll
Main Street
P. Loewen
Langemann
J. Enns
School
Mennonite Church
Waterfall
Pond
Water Tower
Langemann Factory
Langemann and Janzen Steam Mill
Train Station Sarabus
Centre Street
Fast
Friesen
Woll
Peters
Post Office
Butcher
Store
Granary
Unrau Steam Mill
River
Salgir
Goertzen
H. Klassen
Woll
Goossen
J. Woll
J. Rempel
A. Adrian
Simferopol
KARASSAN
CRIMEA
(From A Map
Drawn By Abram Dyck)
Road/Trail
Forest/Trees
0 100 200
Metres
WS/96
Reimer
Store
Cemetery
Windmill
Wall Tile Factory
Village Wells
Mennonite Church
Hospital
Teacher's Residence
Vineyard
Secondary School
Teacher's Residence
School
Isaac Dyck
Penner
Wittenberg
Klippenstein
Dyck
Dyck
Cornelius Toews
Isaac Enns
Johann Dyck
Isaac Dyck
Neumann
Vineyard
Salgir Kiyat

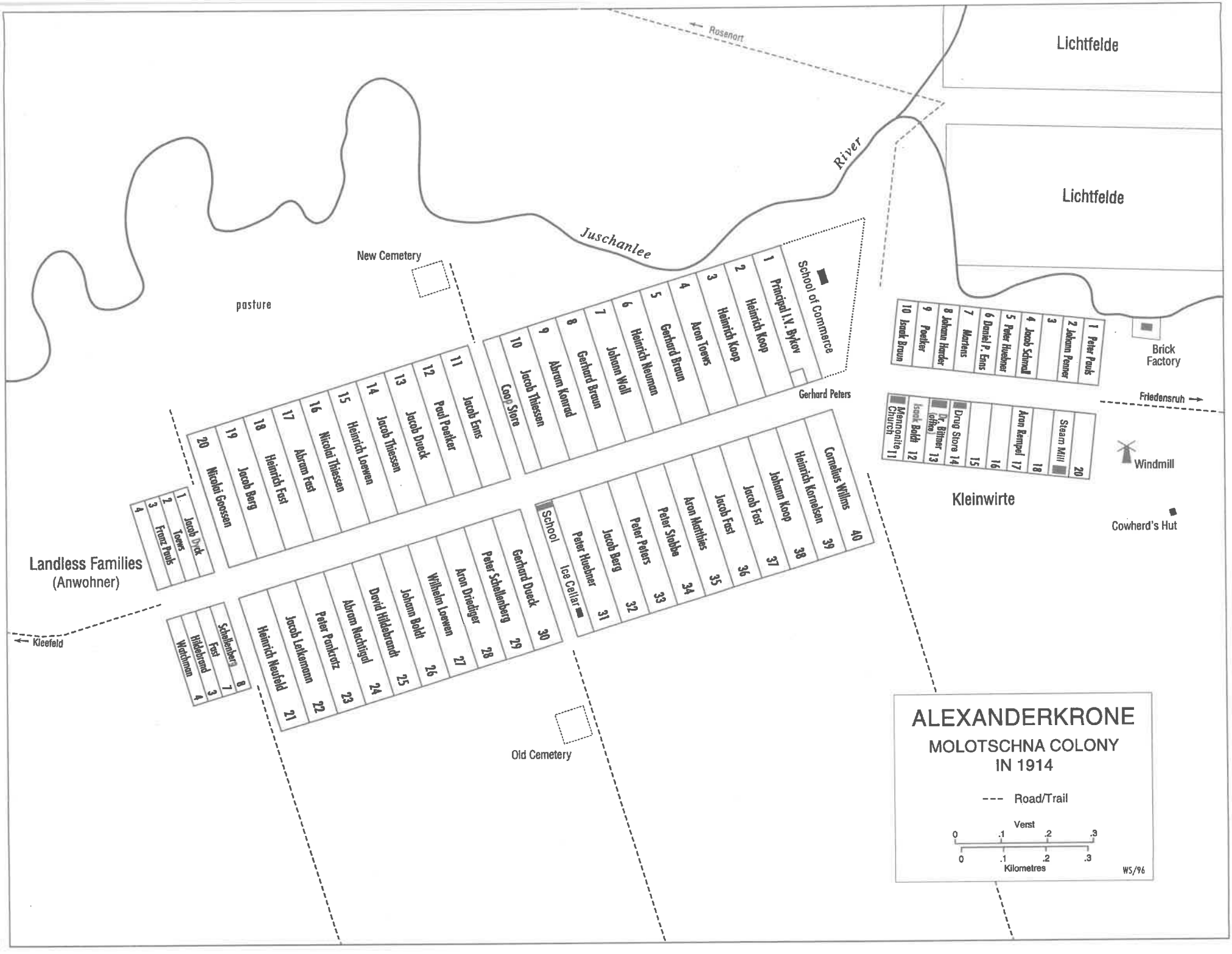

FUERSTENLAND COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Town
Road/Trail
Cemetery
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
34°E
Velikaya Znamenka
Michaelsburg (3)
Nizhnii Rogachik
Rogachik River
Olgafeld (2)
Georgesthal (1)
Alexanderthal (5)
Rosenbach (4)
Verkhnii Rogachik
Dniepr River
47°15'N
Sergeyevka (6)
Ancient Burial Mounds
Velikaya Lepeticha

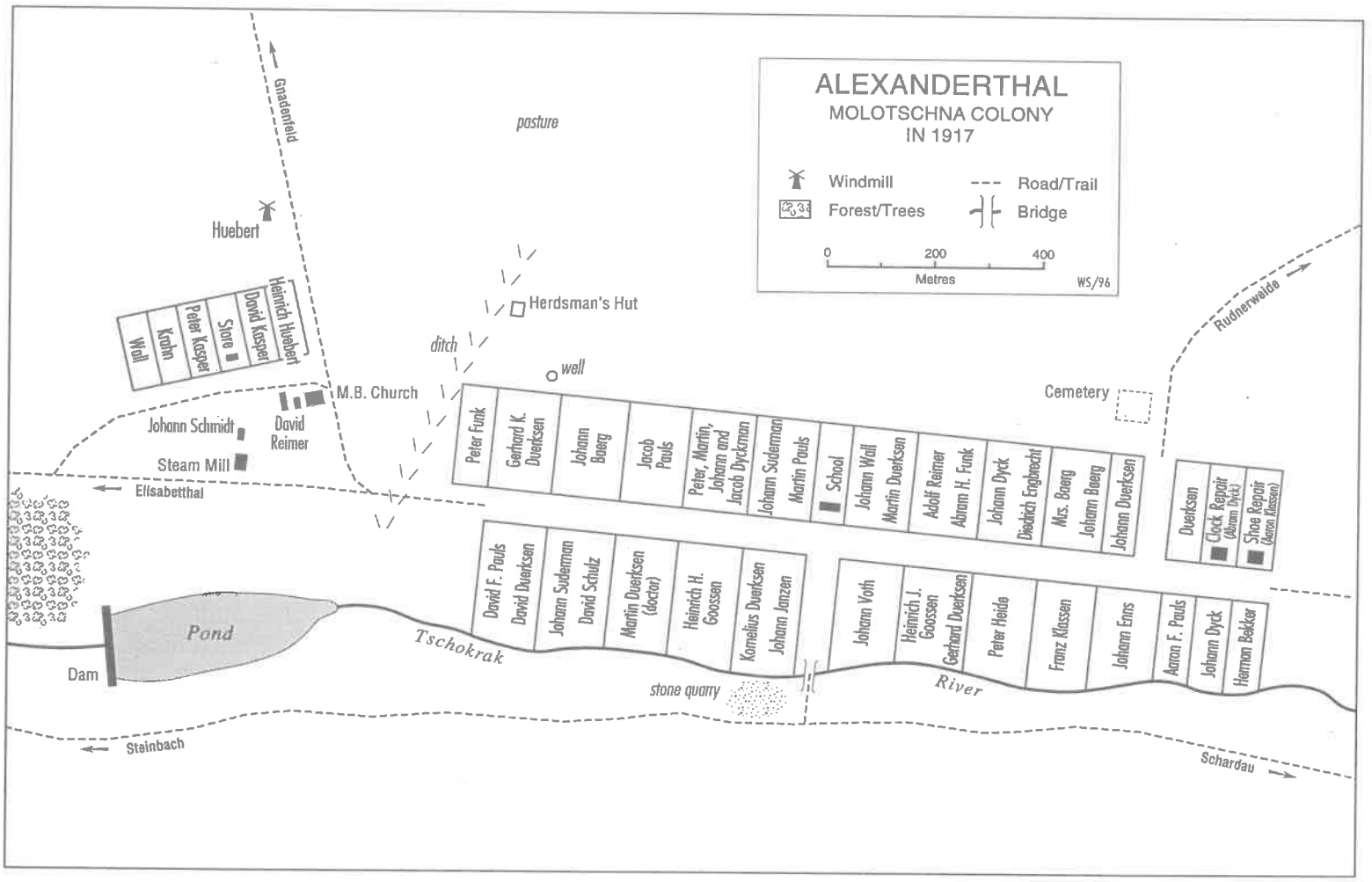

IGNATYEVO COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Town
Railroad
Trail
Cemetery
Windmill
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
Konstantinovka
Krivoy Torets River
Ekaterinovka (1)
Waselovka
Behk River
Alexandrovka
Sherbinovske
Petrovske
Kalnovo River
Krivoy Torets River
Leonidovka (3)
Romanovka (2)
Alexanderpol (Memrik)
Alexeyevka (7)
Suchiya Valley
New York (4)
Ignatyevka (6)
Nikolayevka (5)
Zheleznaya
48°20'N
37°45'E

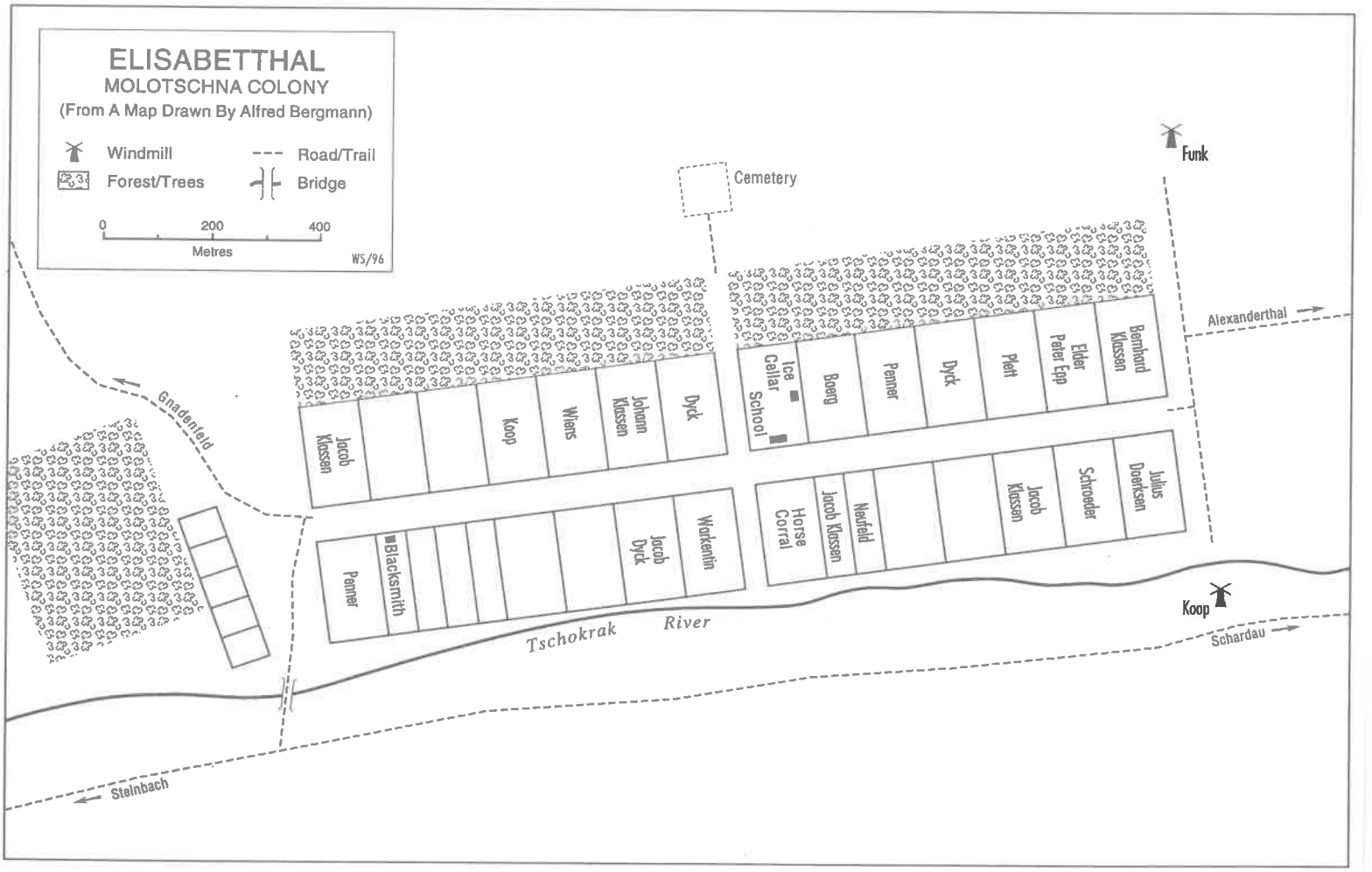

Leontiyevka
Jakob Unger
Johann Lapsky
J.J. Nikkel
Isaak Lapsky
Kornelius Buhr
Bernhard Krahn
Heinrich Funk
Jakob Wiens
P. Thiessen
Peter Janzen
Blacksmith
Boerg-braun
Krivoy Torets River
B. Paetkau
M. Klassen
Jakob Dyck
Lapsky
K. Hamm
Johann Friesen
Teacherages
School
School Janitor
Peter Goertzen
Jakob Funk
Klippenstein
Gerhard Epp
D. Klassen
D. Koslovsky
Peter Hamm
K. Buhr
P.J. Unger
J. Koslovsky
Teacherages
Secondary School
Cemetery
Aaron Dyck
P. Thiessen
J. Thiessen
Girls' School
Peter Janzen
H. Goertzen
Flour Mill
Jacob Unger
Co-op Store
K. Braun
Hoeppner
J. Dyck
Abram Dyck
Jakob Unger
P. Schmidt
Hiebert
D. Schellenberg
A. Janzen
F. Klassen
Heinrich Enns
Wiebe
Peter Unger
Abram Dyck
A. Wiens
G. Rempel
Hamm
Flour Mill
Janzen Grist Mill
Nikolayevka
Railroad Station
Unger Brick and Tile Works
G. Krahn
A. Unruh
Mennonite Church
Umansky
Cornies
J. Unger
Peter Dyck
Flour Mill
Store
Barn
Garden
Garden
Factory
Foundry
Warehouse
Store
Court House
Abram Wiens
Dining Hall
Nekrassov
Hiebert
Pond
Post Office
J. Olfert
School
J. Thiessen
Peter Vogt
Mueller
Watchman
T. Friesen
Rahn
Venetsky
Johann Enns
Factory
P. Penner
Bretthauer
A. Unruh
Johann Enns
Bereznitsky
J. Redekopp
Neufeld
H. Loepp
D. Redekopp
W. Redekopp
W. Peters
clay and sand quarry
Drying Sheds
Kiln
Suvorov-Dyck Brick and Tile Works
Windmill
Zheleznaya
NEW YORK
IGNATYEVO COLONY
(From A Map Drawn By Dorothy Hamm)
Forest/Trees
Road/Trail
Bridge
HTH/96

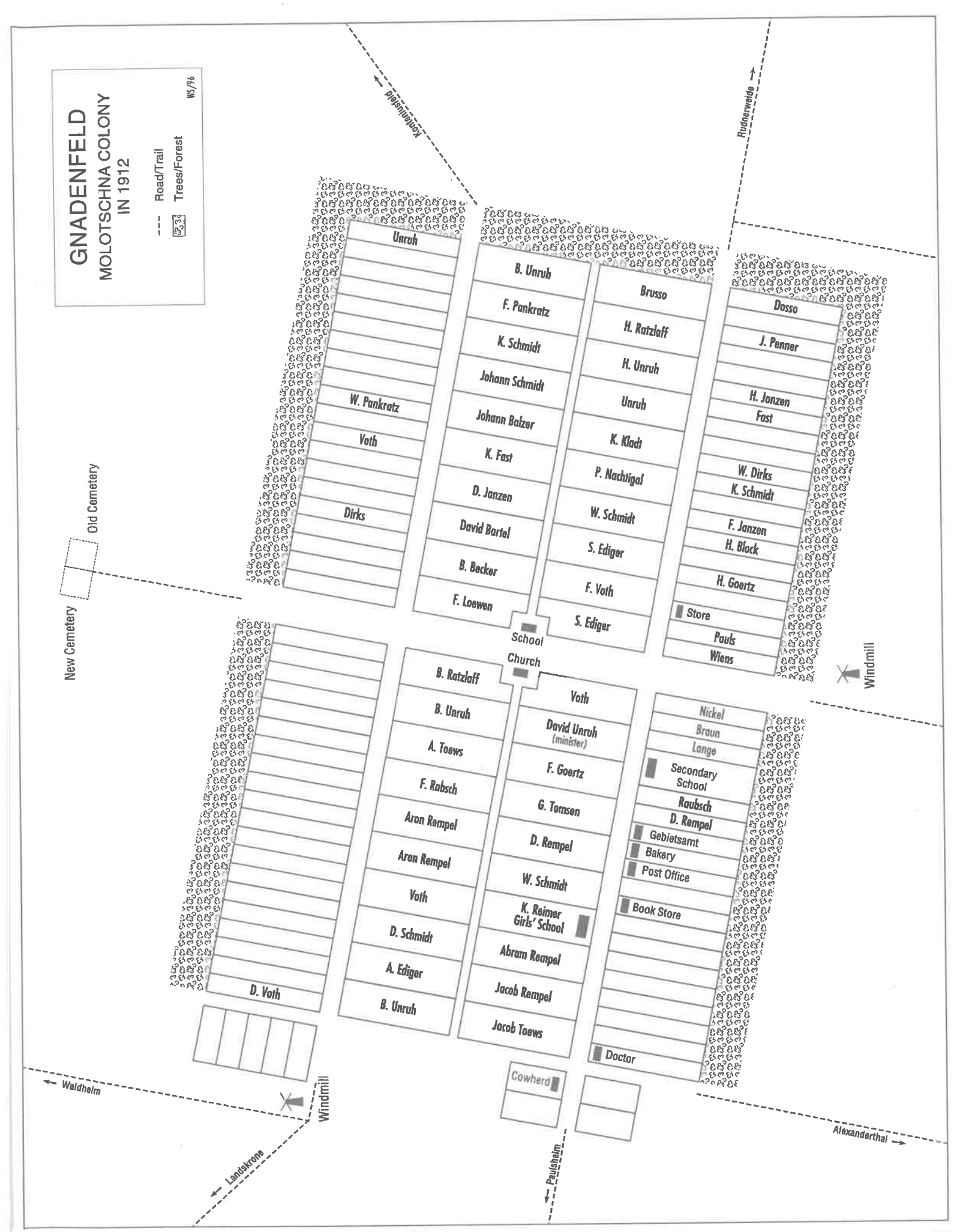

37°22'E
Grodovka
Kazenniy River
Zhelanaya Station
Orlov
48°12'N
48°12'N
Nikolayevka
Marinovka
Volchya River
Seladovka
Michailovka
Kotlyarevka
Kalinovo
Memrik
Karpovka
Dolinovka (1922)
Lessovka
Alexandrovka
Kurakovka
37°22'E
MEMRIK COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Town
Road/Trail
Windmill
Verst
0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3
Kilometres
WS/96

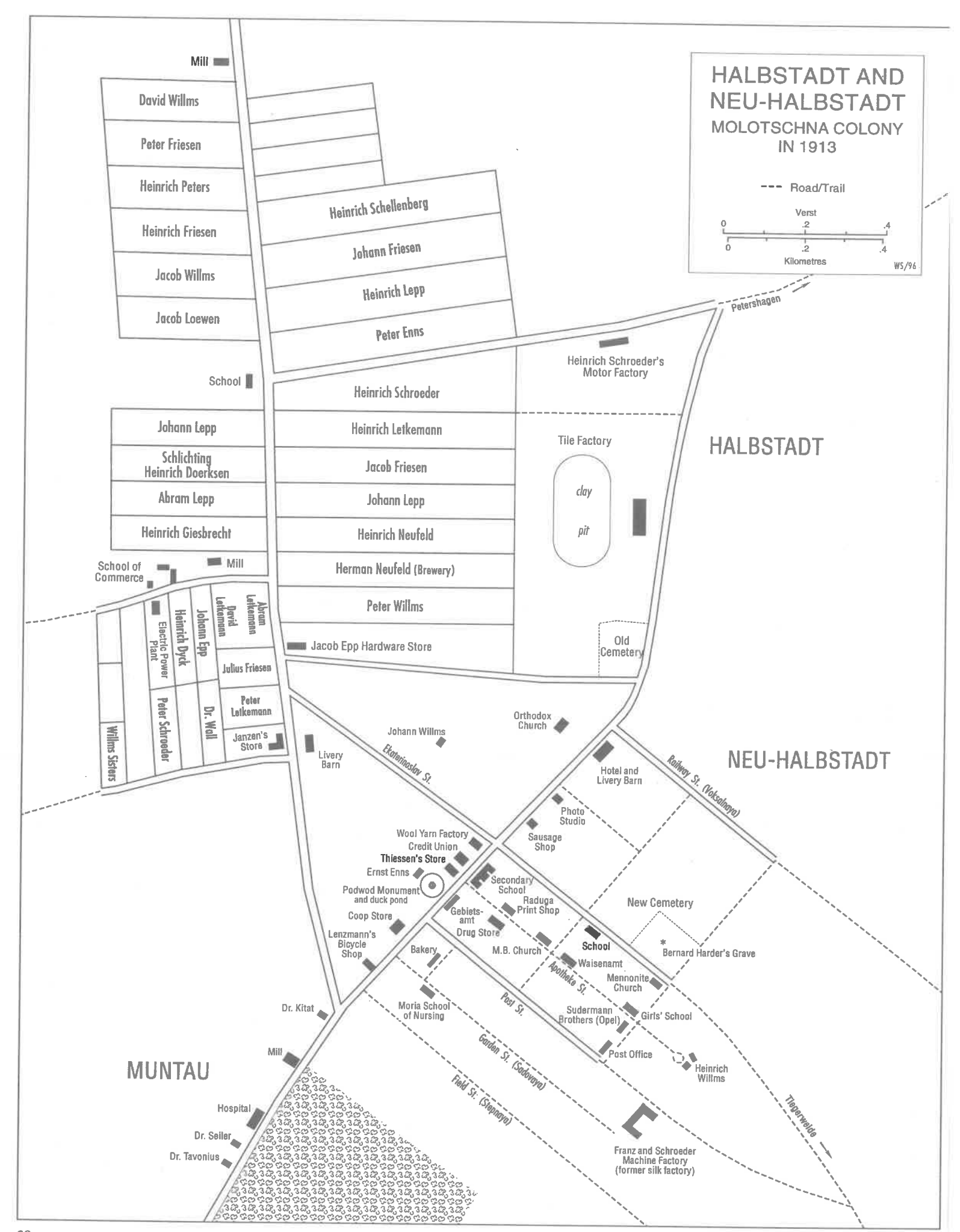

36°E
47°10'N
47°10'N
Tiefenbrunn
Chingul River
Walddorf
Alt-Montal
Rosenthal
Prischib
Hoffenthal
Alt-Nassau
Weinau
Durlach
Bogdanovka
Molochnaya River
Lichtenau
Blumstein
Muensterberg
Altonau
Ackerman
Arab River
Lindenau
Fischau
Schoenau
Tiegenhagen
Muntau
Halbstadt
Neu-Halbstadt
Petershagen
Ladekopp
Tokmak
Fuerstenau
Schoensee
Liebenau
Wernersdorf
Hamberg
Klippenfeld
Tokmak River
Chernigovka
Landskrone
Waldheim
Friedensdorf
Gnadenheim
Alexanderwohl
Hierschau
Begim-Tschokrak River
Fuerstenwerder
Margenau
Gnadenthal
Konteniusfeld
Sparrau
Rueckenau
Apanlee River
Paulsheim
Nikolaidorf
Mariawohl
Gnadenfeld
Grossweide
Pastwa
Kuruschan River
Tiegerweide
Rosenort
Blumenort
Tiege
Ohrloff
Juschanlee River
Juschanlee
Lichtfelde
Neukirch
Prangenau
Kleefeld
Alexanderkrone
Friedensruh
Steinfeld
Elisabetthal
Alexanderthal
Steinbach
Schardau
Pordenau
Marienthal
Rudnerweide
Franzthal
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
UKRAINE
IN 1865
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Town
German Colonist Village
Road/Trail
Forest/Plantation
Windmill
Cemetery
Verst
0
5
10
0
5
10
Kilometres
WS/96

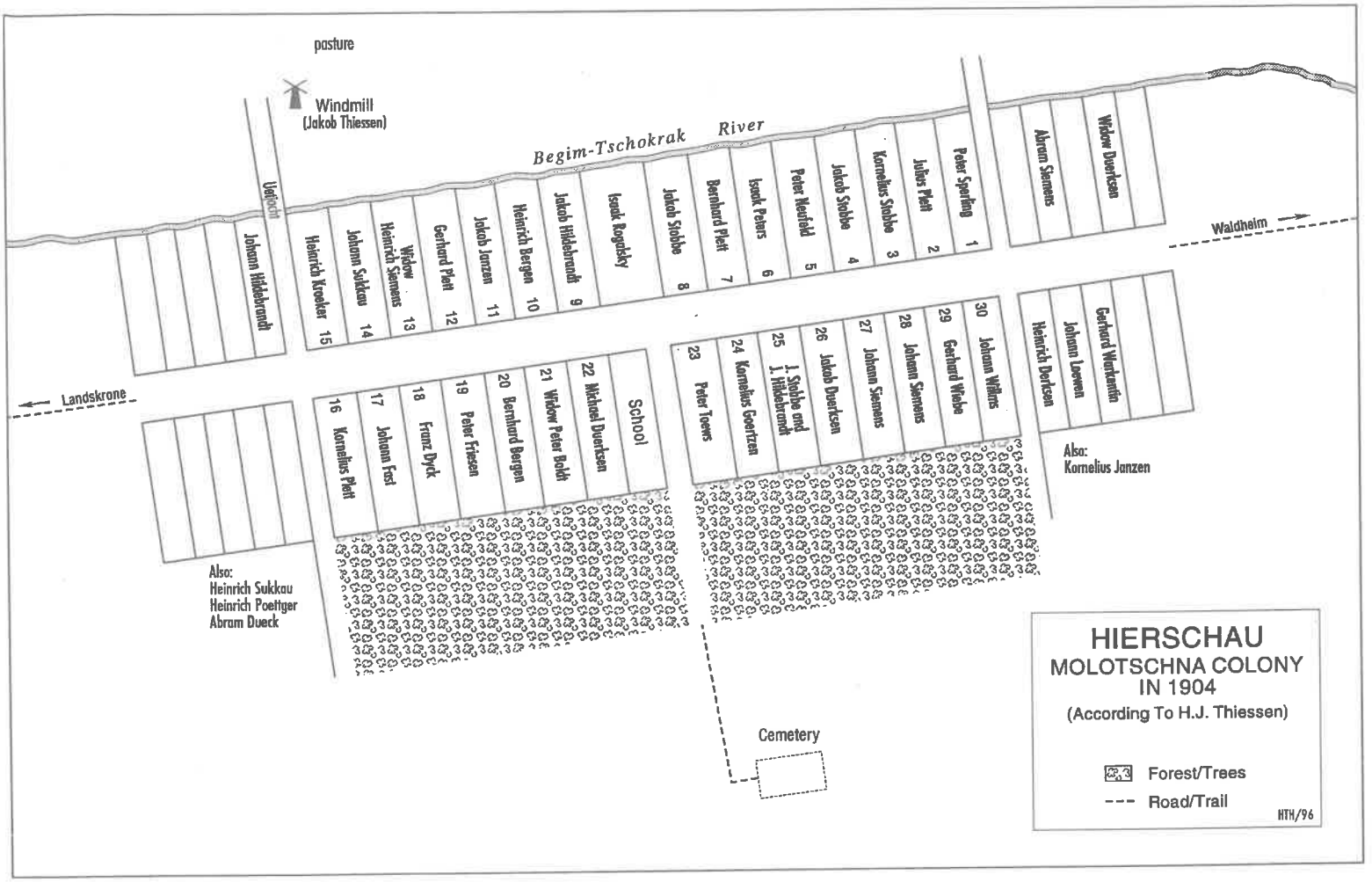

Rosenort
Lichtfelde
Lichtfelde
River
Juschanlee
New Cemetery
pasture
School of Commerce
Gerhard Peters
1 Principal I.V. Bykov
2 Heinrich Koop
3 Heinrich Koop
4 Aron Toews
5 Gerhard Braun
6 Heinrich Neuman
7 Johann Wall
8 Gerhard Braun
9 Abram Konrad
10 Jacob Thiessen
Coop Store
11 Jacob Enns
12 Paul Poetker
13 Jacob Dueck
14 Jacob Thiessen
15 Heinrich Loewen
16 Nicolai Thiessen
17 Abram Fast
18 Heinrich Fast
19 Jacob Berg
20 Nicolai Goossen
1 Peter Pauls
2 Johann Penner
3
4 Jacob Schmal
5 Peter Huebner
6 Daniel P. Enns
7 Martens
8 Johann Harder
9 Poetker
10 Isaak Braun
Brick Factory
Friedensruh
Mennonite Church
Isaak Boldt
Dr. Bittner
Drug Store
Aron Rempel
Steam Mill
Windmill
Kleinwirte
Cowherd's Hut
Landless Families
(Anwohner)
1. Jacob Dick
2
3 Toews
4 Franz Pauls
Schellenberg 8
Fast 7
Hildebrand 3
Watchman 4
Kleefeld
School
Ice Cellar
Peter Huebner 31
Jacob Berg 32
Peter Peters 33
Peter Stobbe 34
Aron Matthies 35
Jacob Fast 36
Jacob Fast 37
Johann Koop 38
Heinrich Kornelsen 39
Cornelius Wilms 40
Gerhard Dueck 30
Peter Schellenberg 29
Aron Driedger 28
Wilhelm Loewen 27
Johann Boldt 26
David Hildebrandt 25
Abram Nachtigal 24
Peter Pankratz 23
Jacob Leikermann 22
Heinrich Neufeld 21
Old Cemetery
ALEXANDERKRONE
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
IN 1914
Road/Trail
Verst
0 .1 .2 .3
0 .1 .2 .3
Kilometres
WS/96

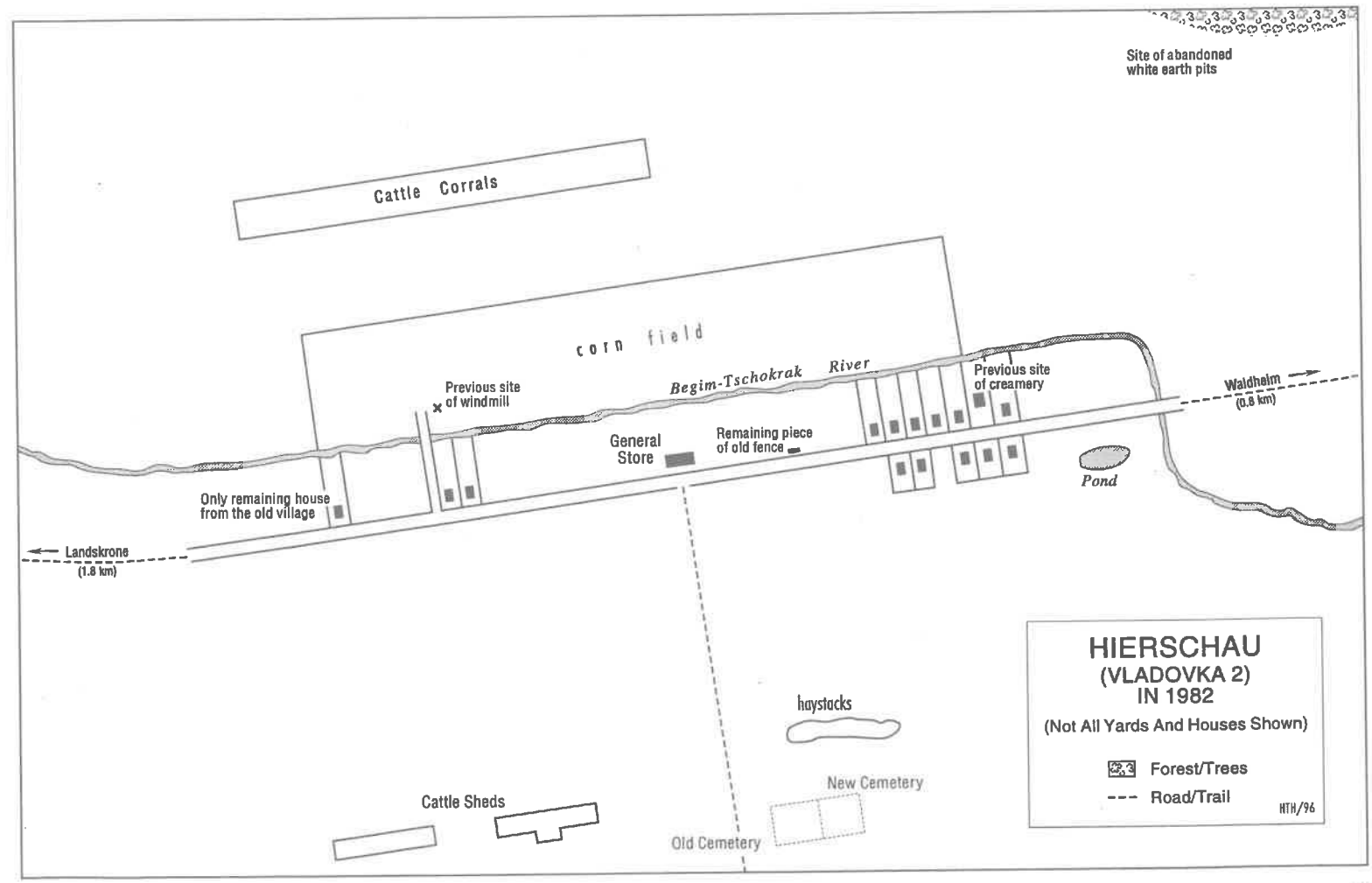

ALEXANDERTHAL
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
IN 1917
Windmill
Road/Trail
Forest/Trees
Bridge
0
200
400
Metres
WS/96
Gnadenfeld
pasture
Huebert
Herdsman's Hut
ditch
well
Rudnerweide
Cemetery
M.B. Church
Johann Schmidt
David Reimer
Steam Mill
Elisabetthal
Heinrich Huebert
David Kasper
Peter Kasper
Store
Krahn
Wall
Peter Funk
Gerhard K. Duerksen
Johann Boerg
Jacob Pauls
Peter, Martin, Johann and Jacob Dyckman
Johann Suderman
Martin Pauls
School
Johann Wall
Martin Duerksen
Adolf Reimer
Abram H. Funk
Johann Dyck
Diedrich Englrecht
Mrs. Boerg
Johann Boerg
Johann Duerksen
Duerksen
Clock Repair (Abram Dyck)
Shoe Repair (Aaron Klassen)
David F. Pauls
David Duerksen
Johann Suderman
David Schulz
Martin Duerksen (doctor)
Heinrich H. Goossen
Kornelius Duerksen
Johann Janzen
Johann Voth
Heinrich J. Goossen
Gerhard Duerksen
Peter Heide
Franz Klassen
Johann Enns
Aaron F. Pauls
Johann Dyck
Herrmon Bekker
Pond
Dam
Tschokrak
River
stone quarry
Steinbach
Schardau

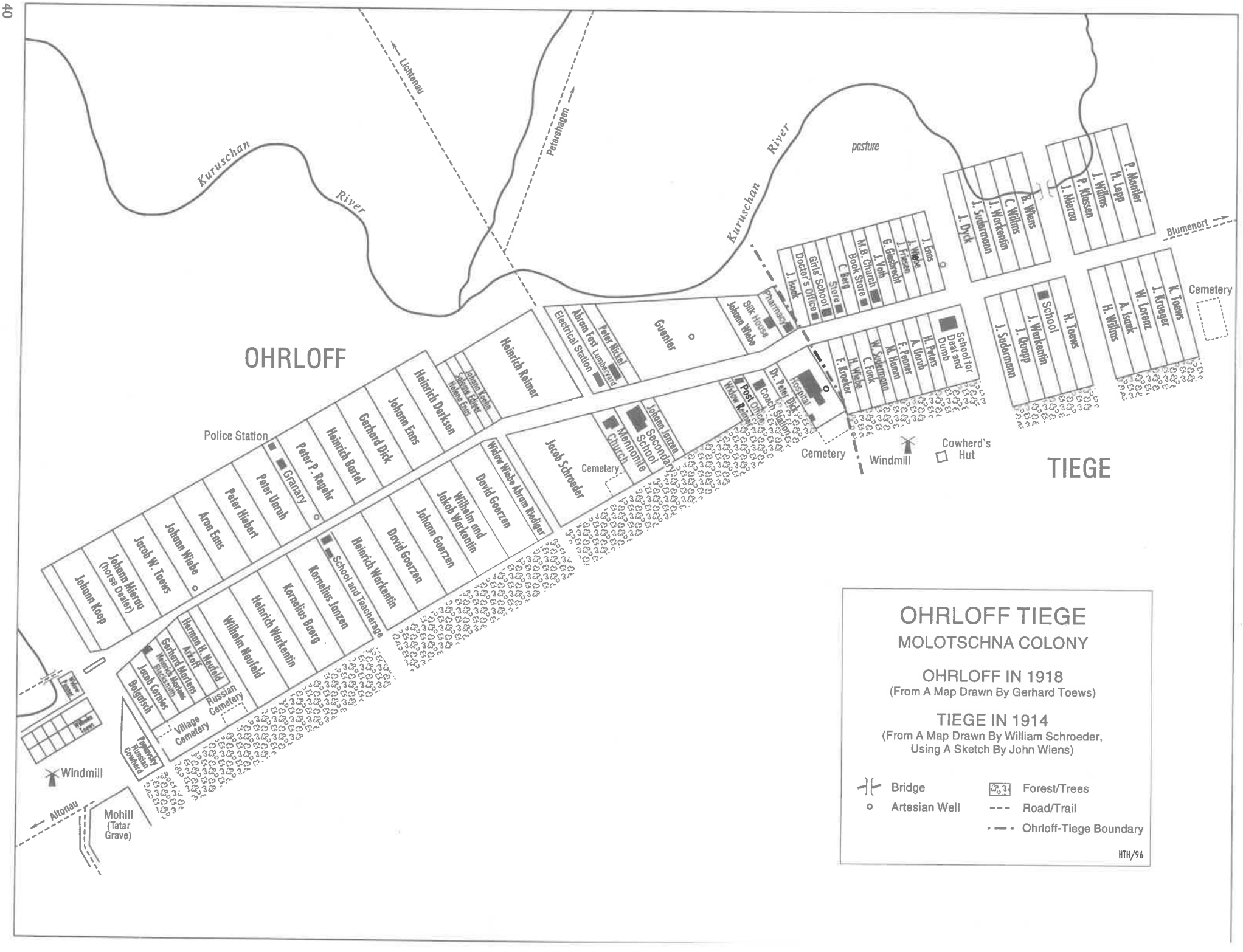

ELISABETTHAL
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
(From A Map Drawn By Alfred Bergmann)
Windmill
Road/Trail
Forest/Trees
Bridge
0
200
400
Metres
WS/96
Cemetery
Funk
Alexanderthal
Gnadenfeld
Jacob Klassen
Koop
Wiens
Johann Klassen
Dyck
Ice Cellar
School
Boerg
Penner
Dyck
Plett
Elder Peter Epp
Bernhard Klassen
Penner
Blacksmith
Jacob Dyck
Warkentin
Horse Corral
Jacob Klassen
Neufeld
Jacob Klassen
Schroeder
Julius Doerksen
Koop
Tschokrak
River
Schardau
Steinbach


GNADENFELD
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
IN 1912
Road/Trail
Trees/Forest
WS/96
Kohlenhusfeld
Rudnerweide
Unruh
B. Unruh
F. Pankratz
K. Schmidt
Johann Schmidt
Johann Balzer
K. Fast
D. Janzen
David Bartel
B. Becker
F. Loewen
W. Pankratz
Voth
Dirks
Brusso
H. Ratzlaff
H. Unruh
Unruh
K. Kladt
P. Nachtigal
W. Schmidt
S. Ediger
F. Voth
S. Ediger
Dosso
J. Penner
H. Janzen
Fast
W. Dirks
K. Schmidt
F. Janzen
H. Block
H. Goertz
Store
Pauls
Wiens
Old Cemetery
New Cemetery
School
Church
Windmill
B. Ratzlaff
B. Unruh
A. Toews
F. Rabsch
Aron Rempel
Aron Rempel
Voth
D. Schmidt
A. Ediger
B. Unruh
D. Voth
Voth
David Unruh
(minister)
F. Goertz
G. Tomsen
D. Rempel
W. Schmidt
K. Reimer
Girls' School
Abram Rempel
Jacob Rempel
Jacob Toews
Nickel
Braun
Lange
Secondary School
Raubsch
D. Rempel
Gebietsamt
Bakery
Post Office
Book Store
Doctor
Cowherd
Waldheim
Windmill
Landskrone
Paulsheim
Alexanderthal

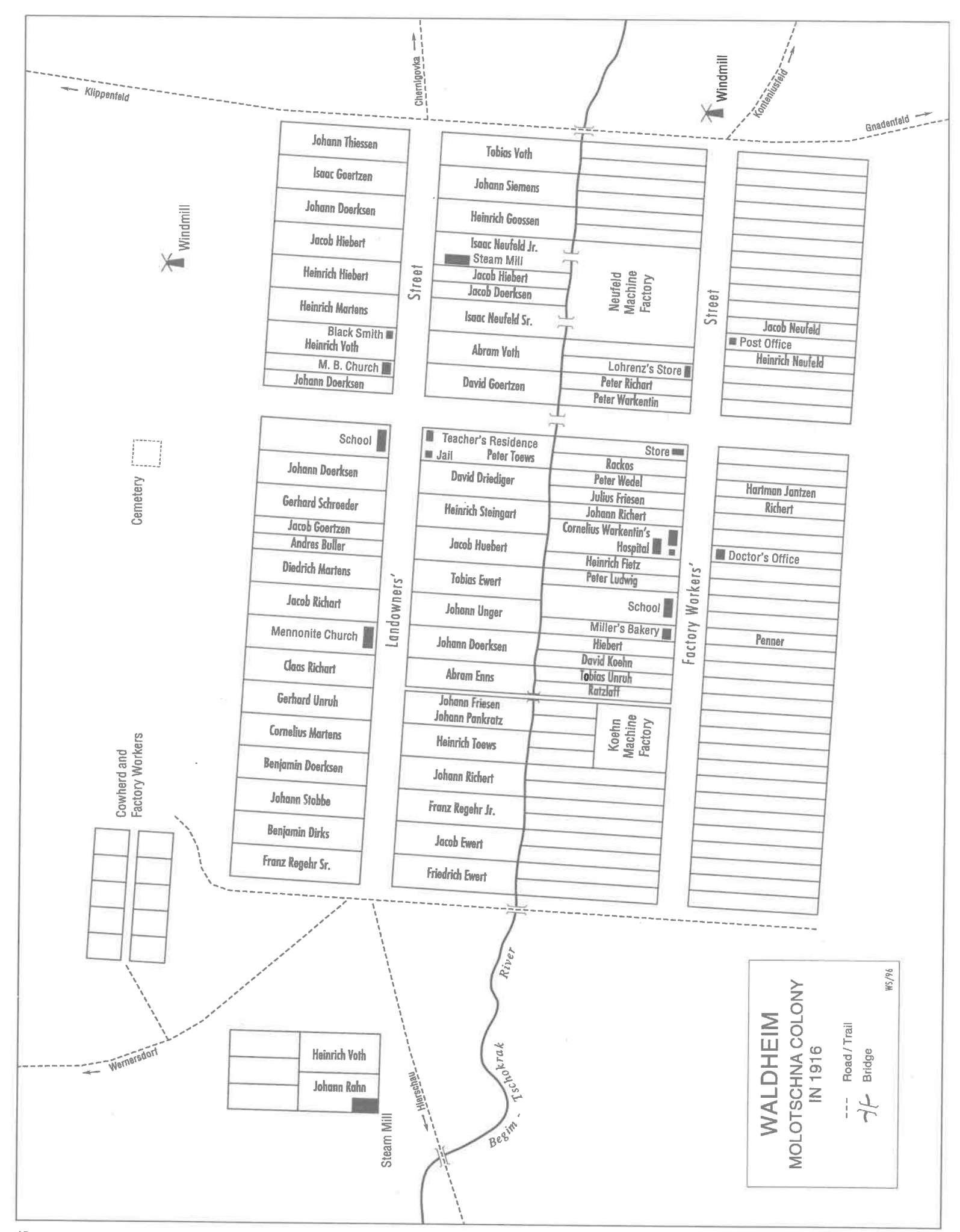

HALBSTADT AND NEU-HALBSTADT
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY IN 1913
Road/Trail
Verst
0 .2 .4
0 .2 .4
Kilometres
WS/96
Mill
David Willms
Peter Friesen
Heinrich Peters
Heinrich Friesen
Jacob Willms
Jacob Loewen
Heinrich Schellenberg
Johann Friesen
Heinrich Lepp
Peter Enns
Petershagen
Heinrich Schroeder's Motor Factory
School
Heinrich Schroeder
Johann Lepp
Heinrich Letkemann
Schlichting Heinrich Doerksen
Jacob Friesen
Abram Lepp
Johann Lepp
Heinrich Giesbrecht
Heinrich Neufeld
Herman Neufeld (Brewery)
Peter Willms
Jacob Epp Hardware Store
Tile Factory
clay pit
HALBSTADT
Old Cemetery
School of Commerce
Mill
Abram Letkemann
David Letkemann
Johann Epp
Heinrich Dyck
Electric Power Plant
Julius Friesen
Peter Letkemann
Janzen's Store
Dr. Wall
Peter Schroeder
Willms Sisters
Livery Barn
Johann Willms
Ekaterinoslav St.
Orthodox Church
Hotel and Livery Barn
Railway St. (Voksalnaya)
NEU-HALBSTADT
Photo Studio
Sausage Shop
Wool Yarn Factory
Credit Union
Thiessen's Store
Ernst Enns
Podwod Monument and duck pond
Secondary School
Raduga Print Shop
Gebiets-amt
Drug Store
Coop Store
Lenzmann's Bicycle Shop
Bakery
M.B. Church
School
Waisenamt
New Cemetery
Bernard Harder's Grave
Apotheke St.
Mennonite Church
Moria School of Nursing
Post St.
Sudermann Brothers (Opel)
Girls' School
Post Office
Heinrich Willms
Dr. Kitat
Mill
MUNTAU
Garden St. (Sadovaya)
Field St. (Stepnaya)
Hospital
Dr. Seiler
Dr. Tavonius
Franz and Schroeder Machine Factory (former silk factory)
Tiegerweide

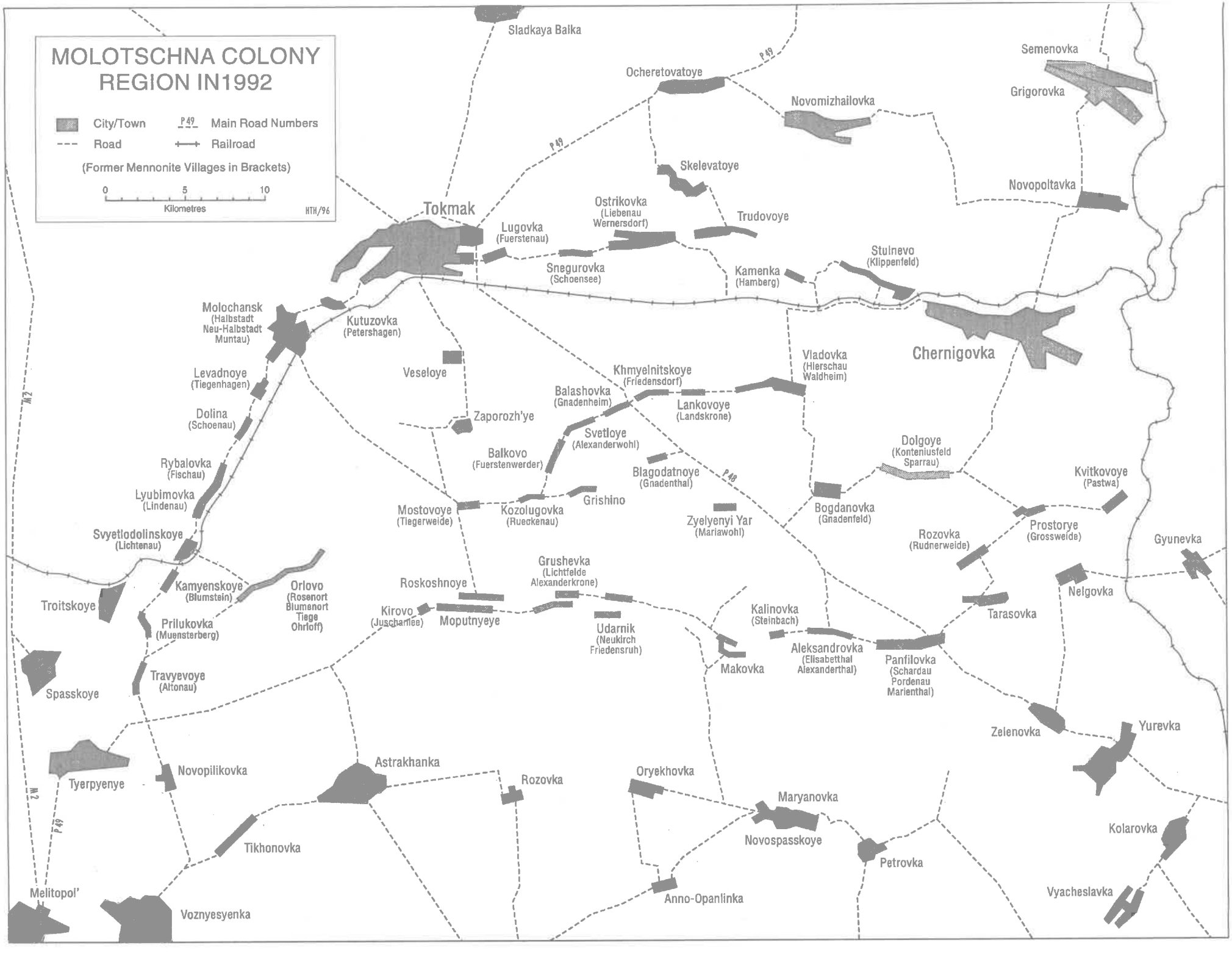

pasture
Windmill
(Jakob Thiessen)
Begim-Tschokrak River
Waldheim
Landskrone
Johann Hildebrandt
Heinrich Kroeker 15
Johann Sukkau 14
Widow Heinrich Siemens 13
Gerhard Plett 12
Jakob Janzen 11
Heinrich Bergen 10
Jakob Hildebrandt 9
Isaak Rogalsky
Jakob Stobbe 8
Bernhard Plett 7
Isaak Peters 6
Peter Neufeld 5
Jakob Stobbe 4
Kornelius Stobbe 3
Julius Plett 2
Peter Sperling 1
Abram Siemens
Widow Duerksen
Heinrich Berksen
Johann Loewen
Gerhard Wertzentin
Also:
Kornelius Janzen
Kornelius Plett 16
Johann Fast 17
Franz Dyck 18
Peter Friesen 19
Bernhard Bergen 20
Widow Peter Boldt 21
Michael Duerksen 22
School
Peter Toews 23
Kornelius Goertzen 24
J. Stobbe and J. Hildebrandt 25
Jakob Duerksen 26
Johann Siemens 27
Johann Siemens 28
Gerhard Wiebe 29
Johann Wilms 30
Also:
Heinrich Sukkau
Heinrich Poettger
Abram Dueck
Cemetery
HIERSCHAU
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
IN 1904
(According To H.J. Thiessen)
Forest/Trees
Road/Trail
HTH/96


Site of abandoned white earth pits
Cattle Corrals
corn field
Begim-Tschokrak River
Previous site of windmill
Previous site of creamery
Waldheim (0.8 km)
General Store
Remaining piece of old fence
Pond
Only remaining house from the old village
Landskrone (1.8 km)
haystacks
New Cemetery
Cattle Sheds
Old Cemetery
HIERSCHAU
(VLADOVKA 2)
IN 1982
(Not All Yards And Houses Shown)
Forest/Trees
Road/Trail
HTH/96

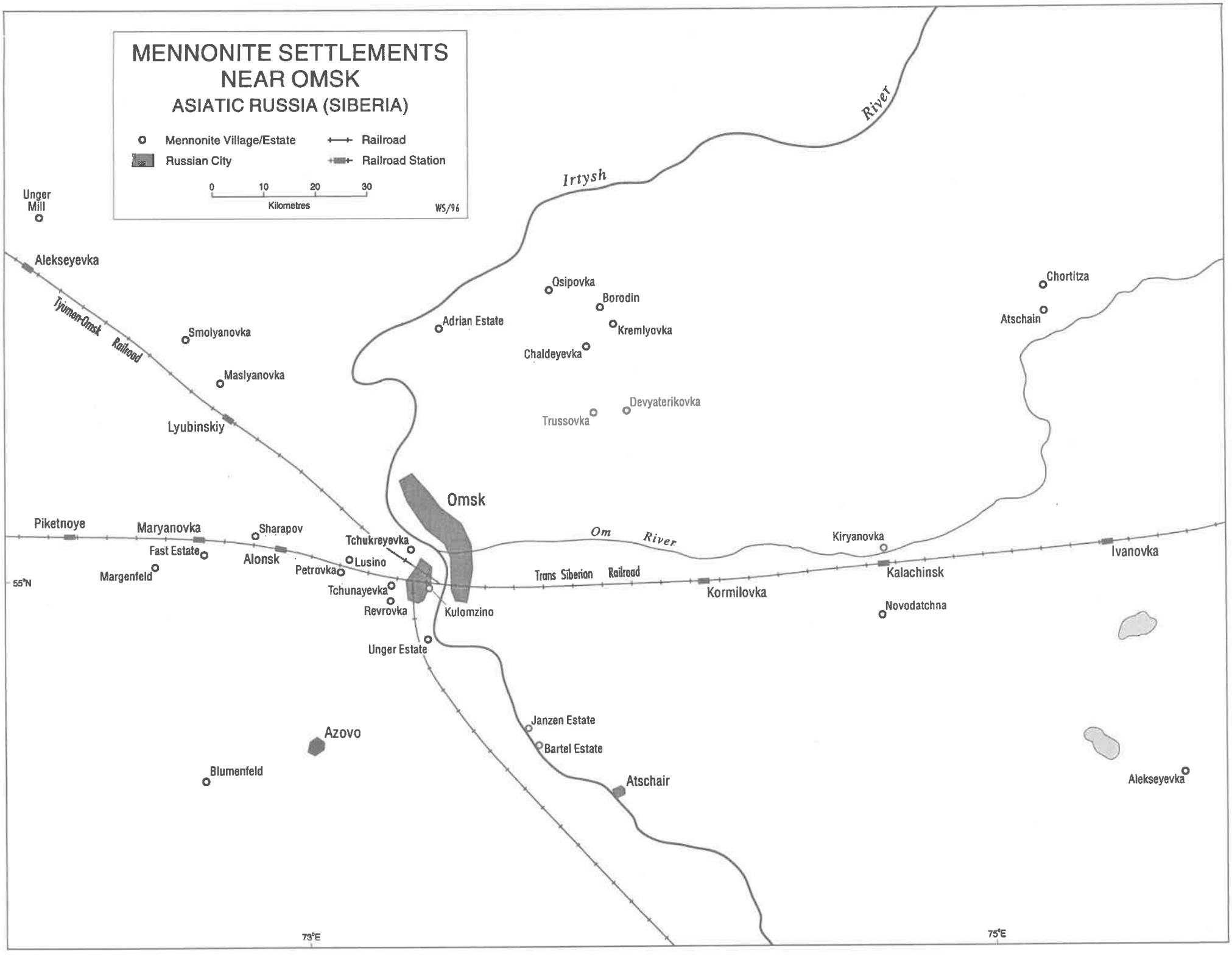

Lichtenau
Petershagen
Kuruschan River
Kuruschan River
pasture
Blumenort
OHRLOFF
TIEGE
Police Station
Granary
Windmill
Cowherd's Hut
Cemetery
Cemetery
Cemetery
Windmill
Mohill (Tatar Grave)
Altonau
Village Cemetery
Russian Cemetery
Mennonite Church
Secondary School
Hospital
Post Office
Coach Station
Dr. Peter Dick
Electrical Station
Abram Fast Lumberyard
Peter Nickel
Guenter
Silk House
Johann Wiebe
Pharmacy
Store
Girls' School
Doctor's Office
Book Store
Blacksmith
School for Deaf and Dumb
School and Teacherage
Heinrich Reimer
Heinrich Dorksen
Gerhard Dick
Johann Enns
Heinrich Bartel
Peter P. Regehr
Peter Unruh
Peter Hiebert
Aron Enns
Johann Wiebe
Jacob W. Toews
Johann Mierau (horse Dealer)
Johann Koop
Widow Wiebe Abram Roediger
David Goerzen
Johann Goerzen
Wilhelm and Jakob Warkentin
Heinrich Warkentin
Kornelius Boerg
Kornelius Jonzen
Wilhelm Neufeld
Hermann H. Neufeld
Arkoff
Gerhard Martens
Heinrich Martens
Jacob Cornies
Bolgatsch
Pedansky Russian Cowherd
Windmill
Altonau
Mohill (Tatar Grave)
OHRLOFF TIEGE
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
OHRLOFF IN 1918
(From A Map Drawn By Gerhard Toews)
TIEGE IN 1914
(From A Map Drawn By William Schroeder, Using A Sketch By John Wiens)
Bridge
Artesian Well
Forest/Trees
Road/Trail
Ohrloff-Tiege Boundary
HTH/96

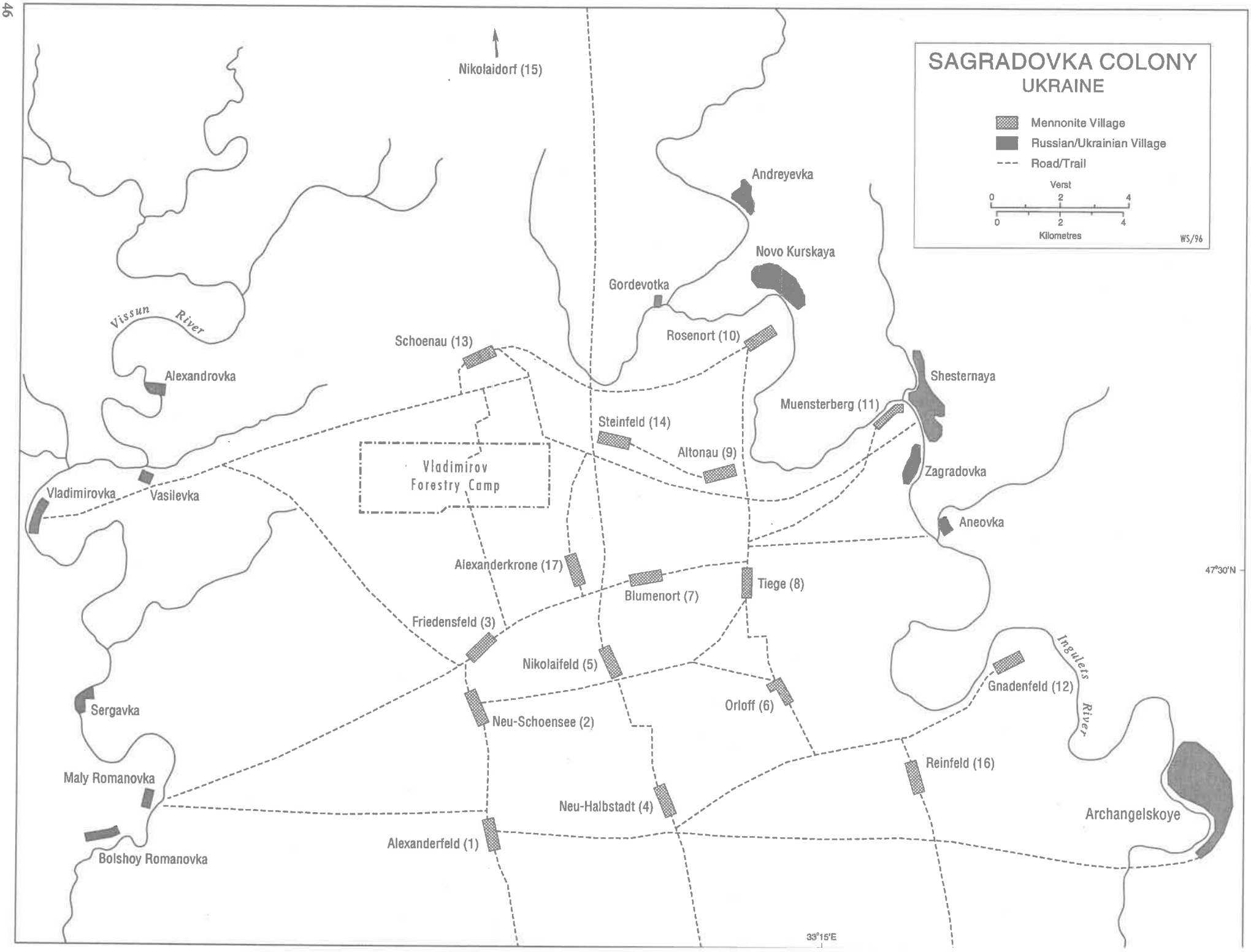
RUECKENAU
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
IN 1915
(From A Map Drawn By John R. Martens)
Road/Trail
0
100
200
Metres
WS/96
Fuerstenwerder
Cobbler
Herdsman
Night Watchman
Windmill
Mennonite Brethren Church
Stable
Johann Hamm
Johann P. Martens
Johann Koop
Pond
Martin M. Hamm
Helena Martens
Cornelius Boschmann
Jacob W. Reimer
Heinrich W. Reimer
Johann Koop
Cornelius J. Janzen
Johann F. Krueger
Franz F. Krueger
Peter Regehr
Cornelius Penner
Franz P. Martens
Lichtfelde
Peter N. Wiebe
Abraham Friesen Home for the Aged
Jacob Regehr
Heinrich Huebert
Justina Penner
Isaac Fast
Bergen
Peter P. Penner
School
Cemetery
HISTORICAL NOTE:
Johann Hamm was custodian of the Mennonite Brethren Church. His home was at the site of former tavern and M.B. Church 1874-1883.
River
Begim - Tschokrak
Store
Heinrich Martens
Jacob Penner
Old Mill Site
Franz Steingart
Peter F. Martens
Gerhard Hildebrandt
Peter Thomsen
Papke
Cornelius Martens
Julius Barkmann
Franz F. Martens
Heinrich F. Martens
Abram Bergmann
David A. Schellenberg
Heinrich Penner
Gerhard F. Martens
Heinrich J. Sukkau
Peter Hildebrandt
Jacob Wiebe
Krueger
River
Kuruschan
Wedler
Peter Buhler
Huebert
Jacob Enns
Hamm
Hamm
Tiegerweide

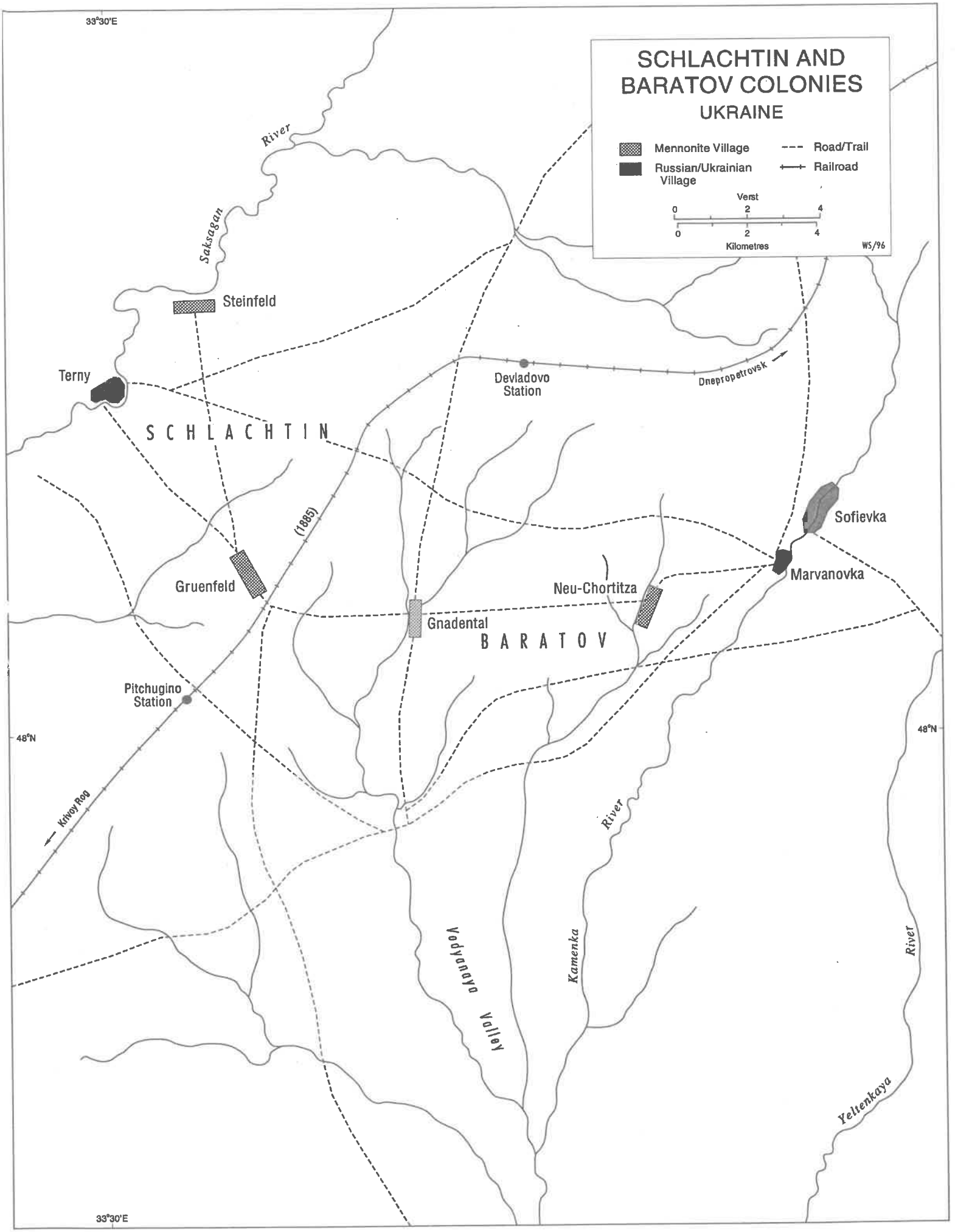

Klippenfeld
Chernigovka
Windmill
Kontentiusfeld
Gnadenfeld
Johann Thiessen
Isaac Goertzen
Johann Doerksen
Jacob Hiebert
Heinrich Hiebert
Heinrich Martens
Black Smith
Heinrich Voth
M. B. Church
Johann Doerksen
Street
Tobias Voth
Johann Siemens
Heinrich Goossen
Isaac Neufeld Jr.
Steam Mill
Jacob Hiebert
Jacob Doerksen
Isaac Neufeld Sr.
Abram Voth
David Goertzen
Neufeld Machine Factory
Lohrenz's Store
Peter Richart
Peter Warkentin
Street
Jacob Neufeld
Post Office
Heinrich Neufeld
Windmill
Cemetery
School
Johann Doerksen
Gerhard Schroeder
Jacob Goertzen
Andres Buller
Diedrich Martens
Jacob Richart
Mennonite Church
Claas Richart
Gerhard Unruh
Cornelius Martens
Benjamin Doerksen
Johann Stobbe
Benjamin Dirks
Franz Regehr Sr.
Landowners'
Teacher's Residence
Jail
Peter Toews
David Driediger
Heinrich Steingart
Jacob Huebert
Tobias Ewert
Johann Unger
Johann Doerksen
Abram Enns
Store
Rackos
Peter Wedel
Julius Friesen
Johann Richert
Cornelius Warkentin's Hospital
Heinrich Fietz
Peter Ludwig
School
Miller's Bakery
Hiebert
David Koehn
Tobias Unruh
Ratzlaff
Johann Friesen
Johann Pankratz
Heinrich Toews
Johann Richert
Franz Regehr Jr.
Jacob Ewert
Friedrich Ewert
Koehn Machine Factory
Factory Workers'
Hartman Jantzen
Richert
Doctor's Office
Penner
Cowherd and Factory Workers
Wernersdorf
Heinrich Voth
Johann Rahn
Steam Mill
Hierschau
River
Begim - Tschokrak
WALDHEIM
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
IN 1916
WS/96
Road / Trail
Bridge

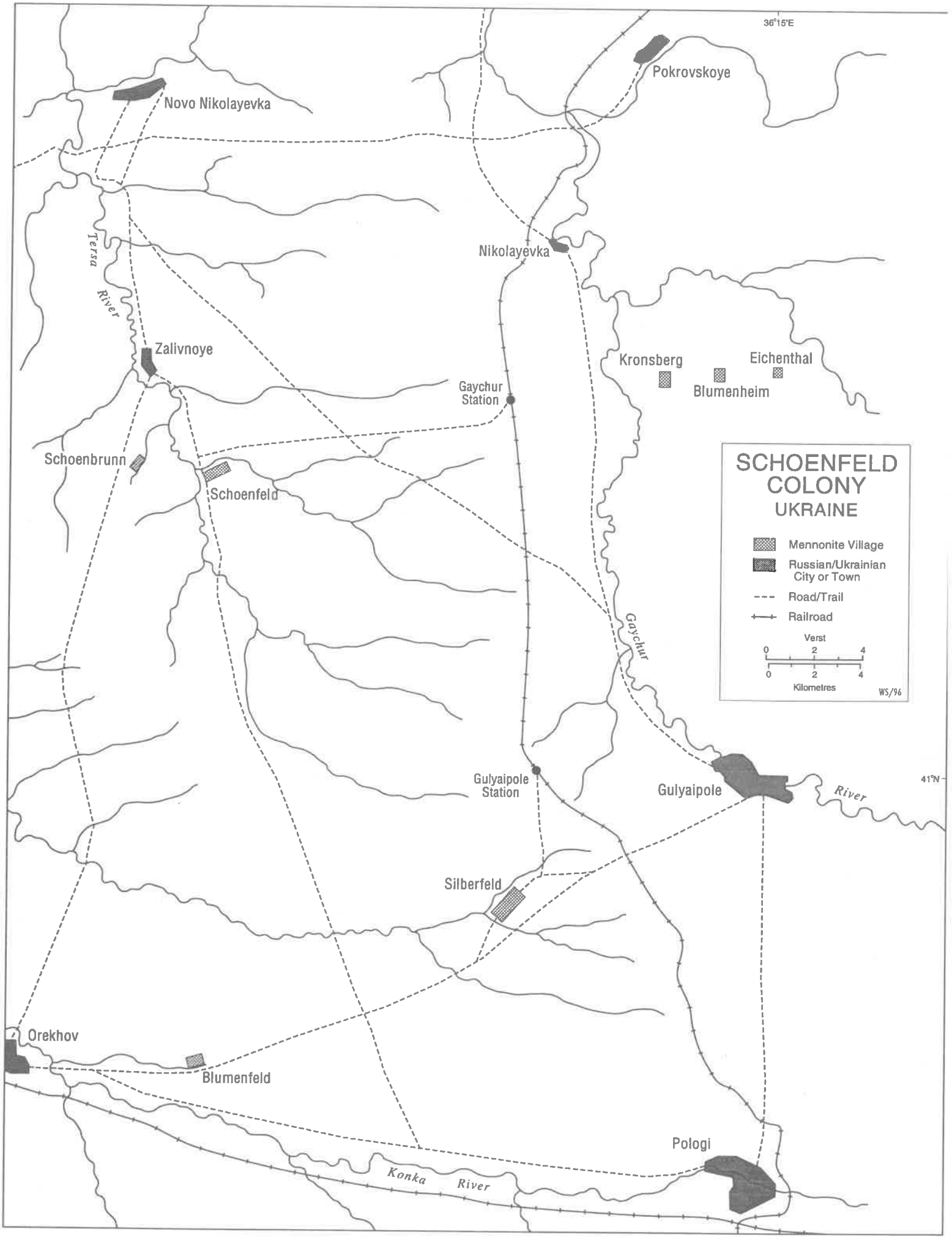

MOLOTSCHNA COLONY REGION IN1992
City/Town
Road
P49 Main Road Numbers
Railroad
(Former Mennonite Villages in Brackets)
0 5 10
Kilometres
NTH/96
Sladkaya Balka
Ocheretovatoye
Semenovka
Grigorovka
Novomizhailovka
Skelevatoye
Novopoltavka
Tokmak
Ostrikovka (Liebenau Wernersdorf)
Trudovoye
Lugovka (Fuerstenau)
Snegurovka (Schoensee)
Kamenka (Hamberg)
Stulnevo (Klippenfeld)
Molochansk (Halbstadt Neu-Halbstadt Muntau)
Kutuzovka (Petershagen)
Chernigovka
Vladovka (Hierschau Waldheim)
Veseloye
Khmyelnitskoye (Friedensdorf)
Levadnoye (Tiegenhagen)
Balashovka (Gnadenheim)
Lankovoye (Landskrone)
Dolina (Schoenau)
Zaporozh'ye
Svetloye (Alexanderwohl)
Dolgoye (Konteniusfeld Sparrau)
Balkovo (Fuerstenwerder)
Rybalovka (Fischau)
Blagodatnoye (Gnadenthal)
Kvitkovoye (Pastwa)
Lyubimovka (Lindenau)
Grishino
Mostovoye (Tiegerweide)
Kozolugovka (Rueckenau)
Zyelyenyi Yar (Mariawohl)
Bogdanovka (Gnadenfeld)
Prostorye (Grossweide)
Svyetlodolinskoye (Lichtenau)
Rozovka (Rudnerweide)
Gyunevka
Grushevka (Lichtfelde Alexanderkrone)
Roskoshnoye
Orlovo (Rosenort Blumenort Tiege Ohrloff)
Kamyenskoye (Blumstein)
Nelgovka
Troitskoye
Kirovo (Juschanlee)
Moputnyeye
Kalinovka (Steinbach)
Tarasovka
Prilukovka (Muensterberg)
Udarnik (Neukirch Friedensruh)
Aleksandrovka (Elisabetthal Alexanderthal)
Panfilovka (Schardau Pordenau Marienthal)
Makovka
Spasskoye
Travyevoye (Altonau)
Zelenovka
Yurevka
Tyerpyenye
Novopilikovka
Astrakhanka
Rozovka
Oryekhovka
Maryanovka
Kolarovka
Tikhonovka
Novospasskoye
Petrovka
Melitopol'
Anno-Opanlinka
Vyacheslavka
Voznyesyenka
M2
P49

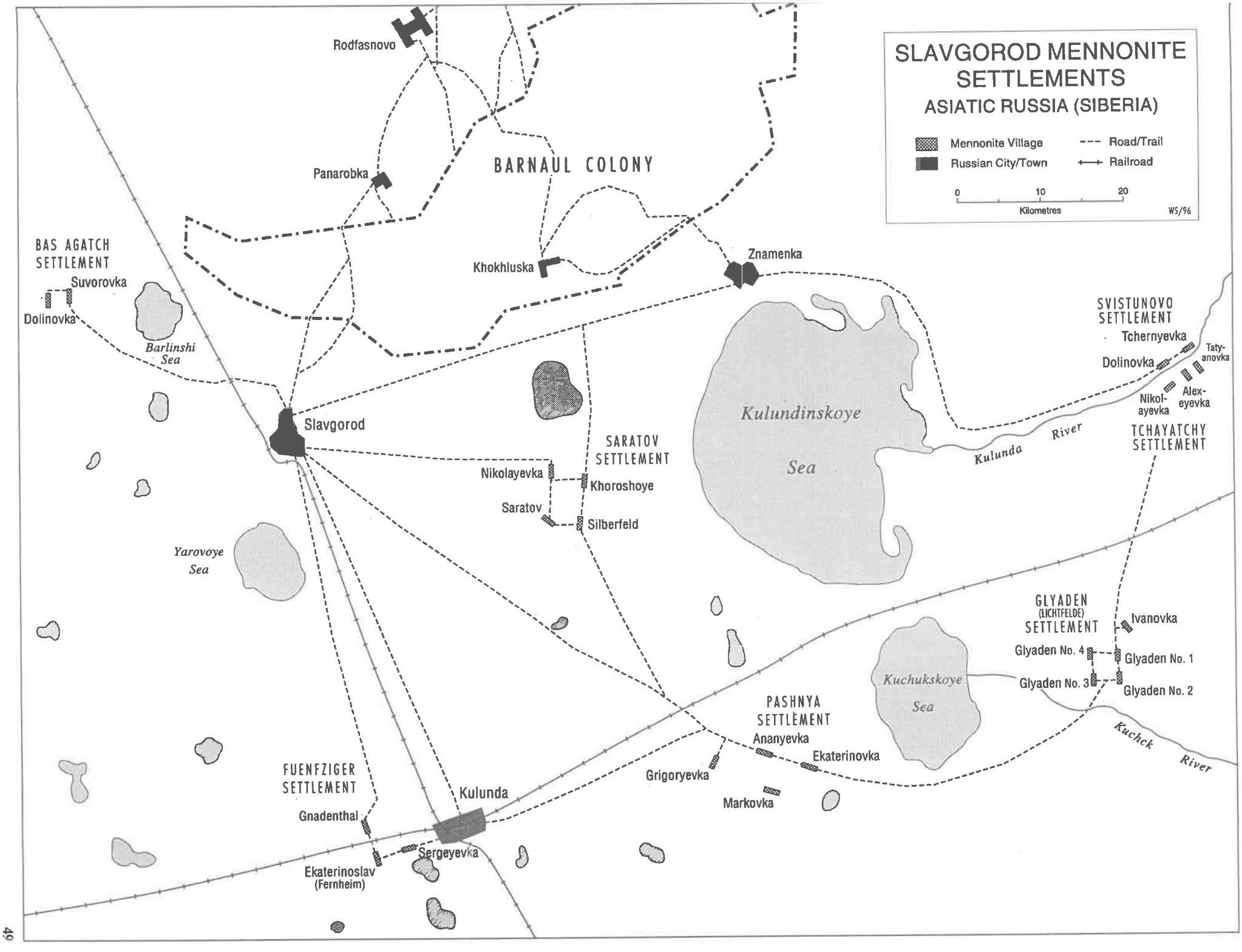
RUSSIA
KAZAKHSTAN
Tyumen-Omsk Railroad
Nazyvayevsk
Alekseyevka
Becker Estate
Beryesovka
Wiesenfeld
Waldheim
Solenoye Sea
Enns Estate
Emilyanovka
Schelegino
Ishim River
Gerbrandt Estate
Friesenov
Mikhaylovka
Petropavlovsk
Asanovo
Poludino
Trans Siberian Railroad
Hildebrandt Estate
Bulayevo
Skvorzovo
Karakoga
Issyl Kul Forestry Camp
Friedensruh
Petrovka
Tiegerweide
Rosenort
Hamberg
Issyl Kul
Gorkoye
Moskalenko
Piketnoye
Omsk (60 km)
Margenau
J. Heinrichs Estate
Korneyevka
Johann Peters Estate
Ivanovka
Ekaterinovka
Nikolaifeld
Grigoryevka
Johann Rahn Estate
Alexeyevka
Alexanderkrone
Alexandrovka
Ebeyty Sea
55°N
70°E
71°E
72°E
MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS WEST OF OMSK
KAZAKHSTAN AND ASIATIC RUSSIA (SIBERIA)
Mennonite Village/Estate
Regional City
Railroad
Railroad Station
0 10 20 30
Kilometres
WS/96

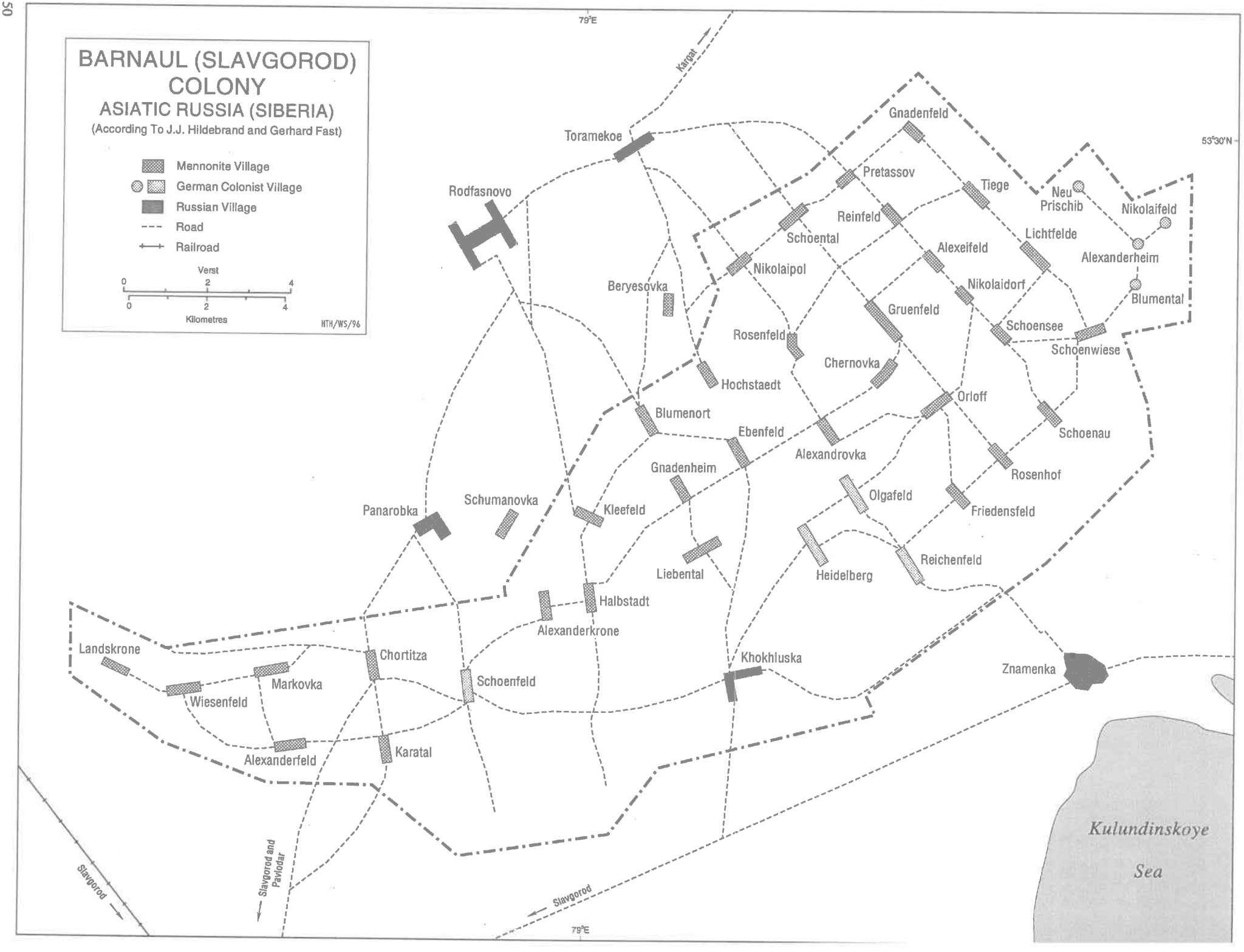

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS
NEAR OMSK
ASIATIC RUSSIA (SIBERIA)
Mennonite Village/Estate
Russian City
Railroad
Railroad Station
0 10 20 30
Kilometres
WS/96
Irtysh River
Unger Mill
Alekseyevka
Tyumen-Omsk Railroad
Smolyanovka
Maslyanovka
Lyubinskiy
Osipovka
Borodin
Kremlyovka
Adrian Estate
Chaldeyevka
Trussovka
Devyaterikovka
Chortitza
Atschain
Omsk
Om River
Piketnoye
Maryanovka
Sharapov
Fast Estate
Alonsk
Margenfeld
Petrovka
Lusino
Tchukreyevka
Tchunayevka
Revrovka
Kulomzino
Unger Estate
Trans Siberian Railroad
Kiryanovka
Kalachinsk
Kormilovka
Novodatchna
Ivanovka
55°N
Azovo
Blumenfeld
Janzen Estate
Bartel Estate
Atschair
Alekseyevka
75°E
75°E

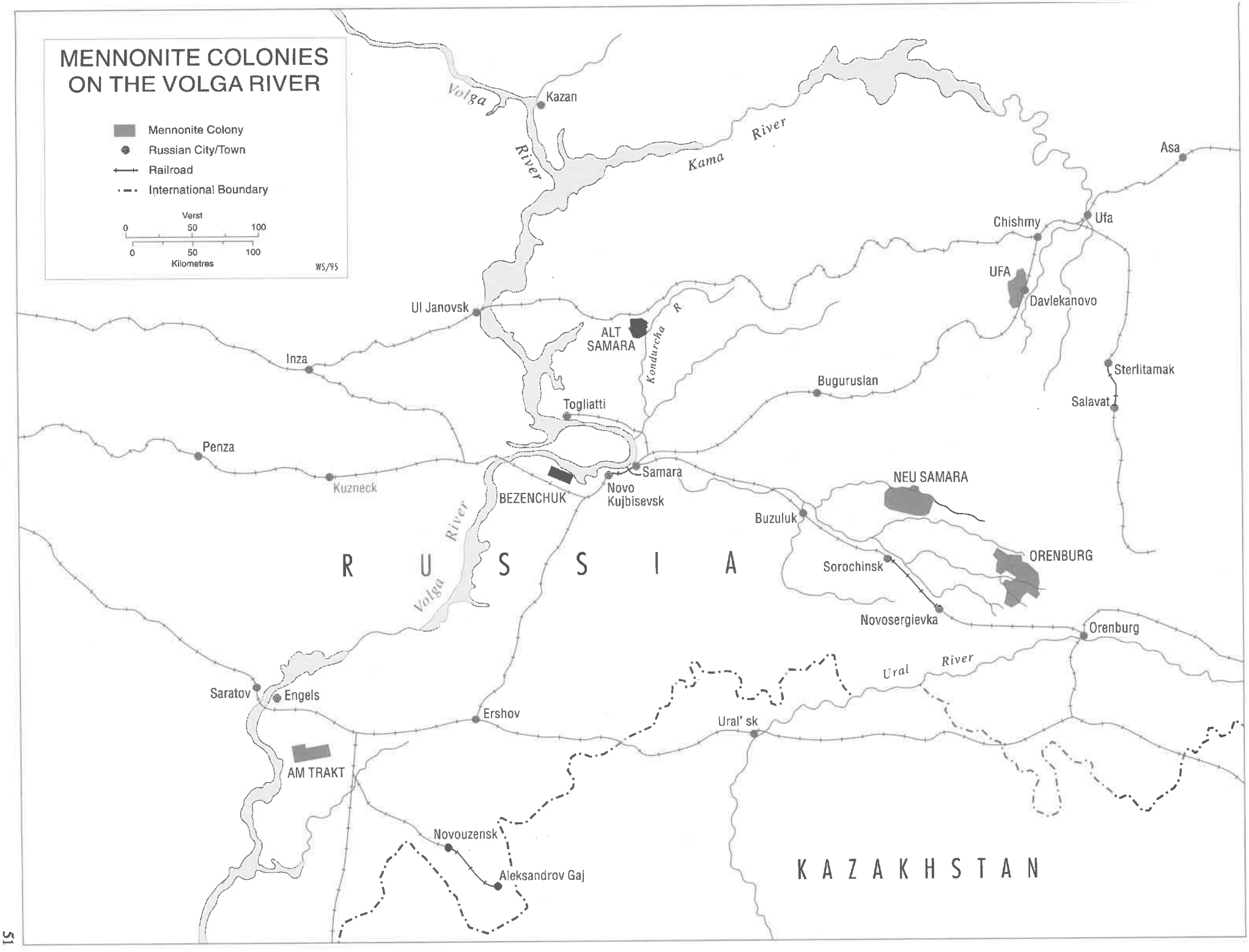

SAGRADOVKA COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Village
Road/Trail
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
Nikolaidorf (15)
Andreyevka
Novo Kurskaya
Gordevotka
Rosenort (10)
Schoenau (13)
Vissun River
Alexandrovka
Shesternaya
Muensterberg (11)
Steinfeld (14)
Altonau (9)
Vladimirov Forestry Camp
Zagradovka
Vladimirovka
Vasilevka
Aneovka
47°30'N
Alexanderkrone (17)
Blumenort (7)
Tiege (8)
Friedensfeld (3)
Nikolaifeld (5)
Ingulets River
Gnadenfeld (12)
Orloff (6)
Sergavka
Neu-Schoensee (2)
Reinfeld (16)
Maly Romanovka
Neu-Halbstadt (4)
Archangelskoye
Alexanderfeld (1)
Bolshoy Romanovka
33°15'E

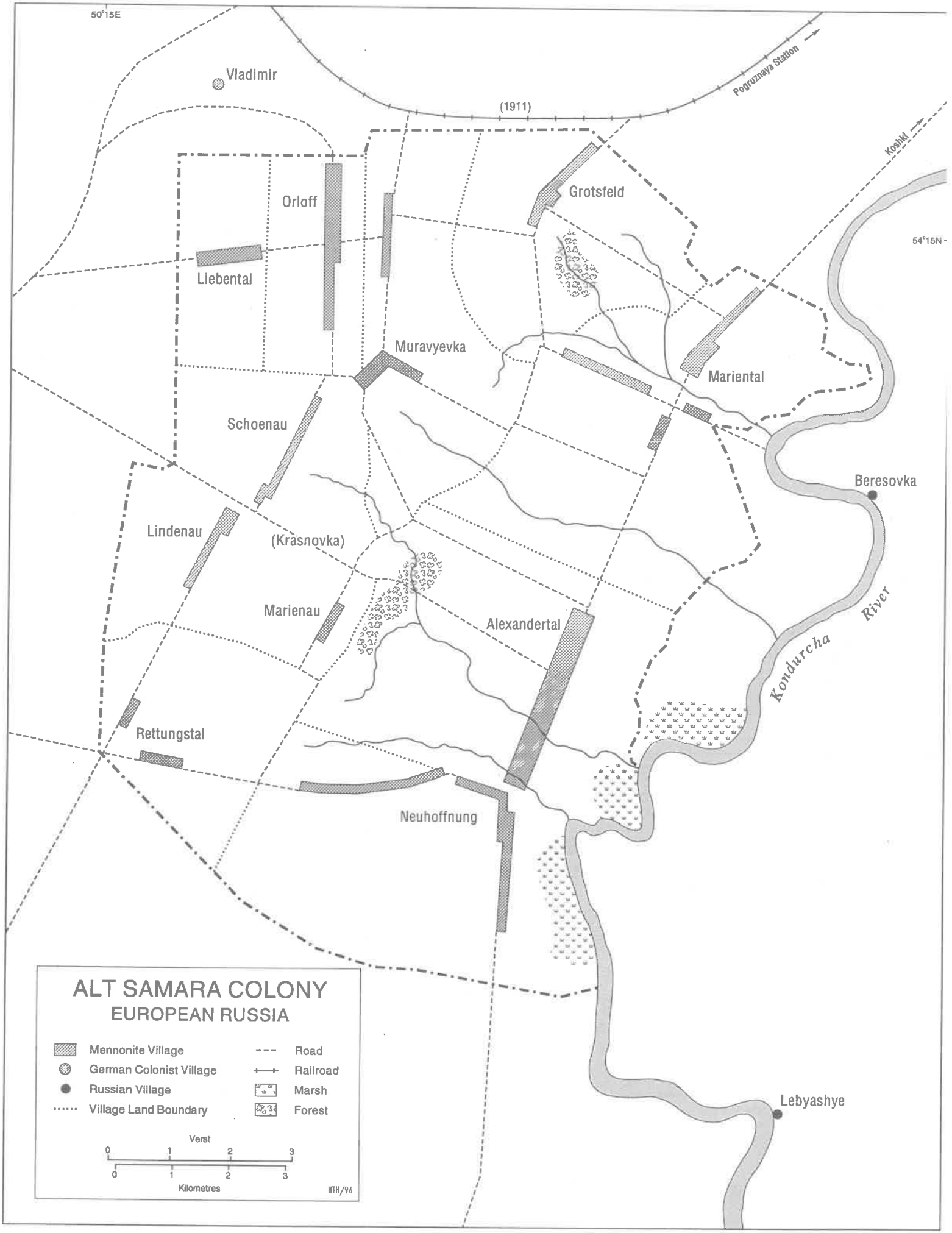

SCHLACHTIN AND BARATOV COLONIES
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Village
Road/Trail
Railroad
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
33°30'E
River
Saksagan
Steinfeld
Terny
Devladovo Station
Dnepropetrovsk
SCHLACHTIN
(1885)
Gruenfeld
Gnadental
Neu-Chortitza
BARATOV
Sofievka
Marvanovka
Pitchugino Station
48°N
Krivoy Rog
River
Kamenka
Volyanka Valley
River
Yeltenkaya
33°30'E

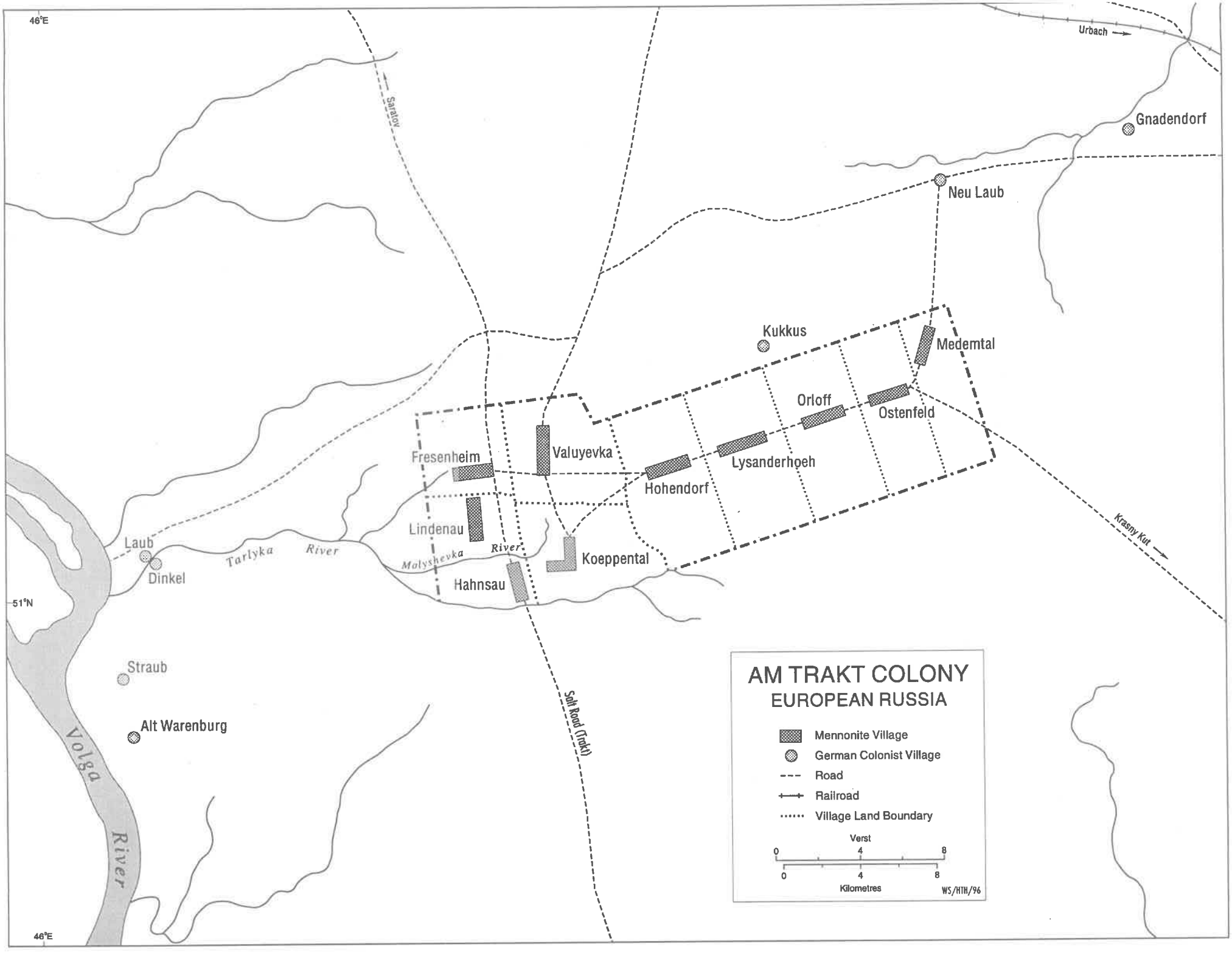

36°15'E
Pokrovskoye
Novo Nikolayevka
Tersa River
Nikolayevka
Zalivnoye
Kronsberg
Eichenthal
Blumenheim
Gaychur Station
Schoenbrunn
Schoenfeld
SCHOENFELD COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian City or Town
Road/Trail
Railroad
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
Gaychur
Gulyaipole Station
Gulyaipole
River
41°N
Silberfeld
Orekhov
Blumenfeld
Pologi
Konka River

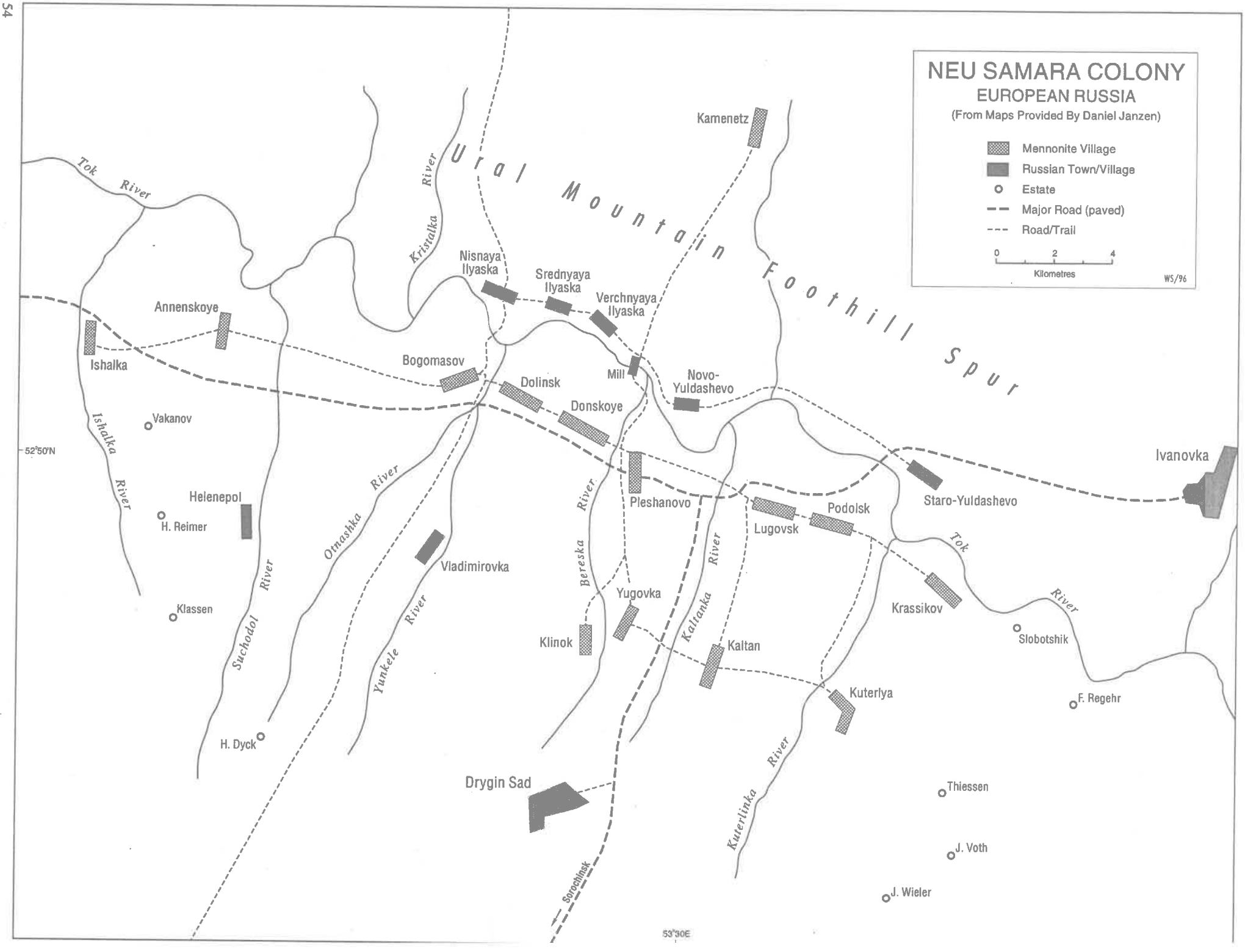

SLAVGOROD MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS
ASIATIC RUSSIA (SIBERIA)
Mennonite Village
Russian City/Town
Road/Trail
Railroad
0
10
20
Kilometres
WS/96
Rodfasnovo
Panarobka
BARNAUL COLONY
Khokhluska
Znamenka
BAS AGATCH SETTLEMENT
Suvorovka
Dolinovka
Barlinshi Sea
Slavgorod
SARATOV SETTLEMENT
Nikolayevka
Khoroshoye
Saratov
Silberfeld
Kulundinskoye Sea
SVISTUNOVO SETTLEMENT
Tchernyevka
Dolinovka
Taty-anovka
Nikol-ayevka
Alex-eyevka
Kulunda River
TCHAYATCHY SETTLEMENT
Yarovoye Sea
GLYADEN (LICHTFELDE) SETTLEMENT
Ivanovka
Glyaden No. 4
Glyaden No. 1
Glyaden No. 3
Glyaden No. 2
Kuchukskoye Sea
Kuchck River
PASHNYA SETTLEMENT
Ananyevka
Ekaterinovka
Grigoryevka
Markovka
FUENFZIGER SETTLEMENT
Gnadenthal
Kulunda
Sergeyevka
Ekaterinoslav (Fernheim)

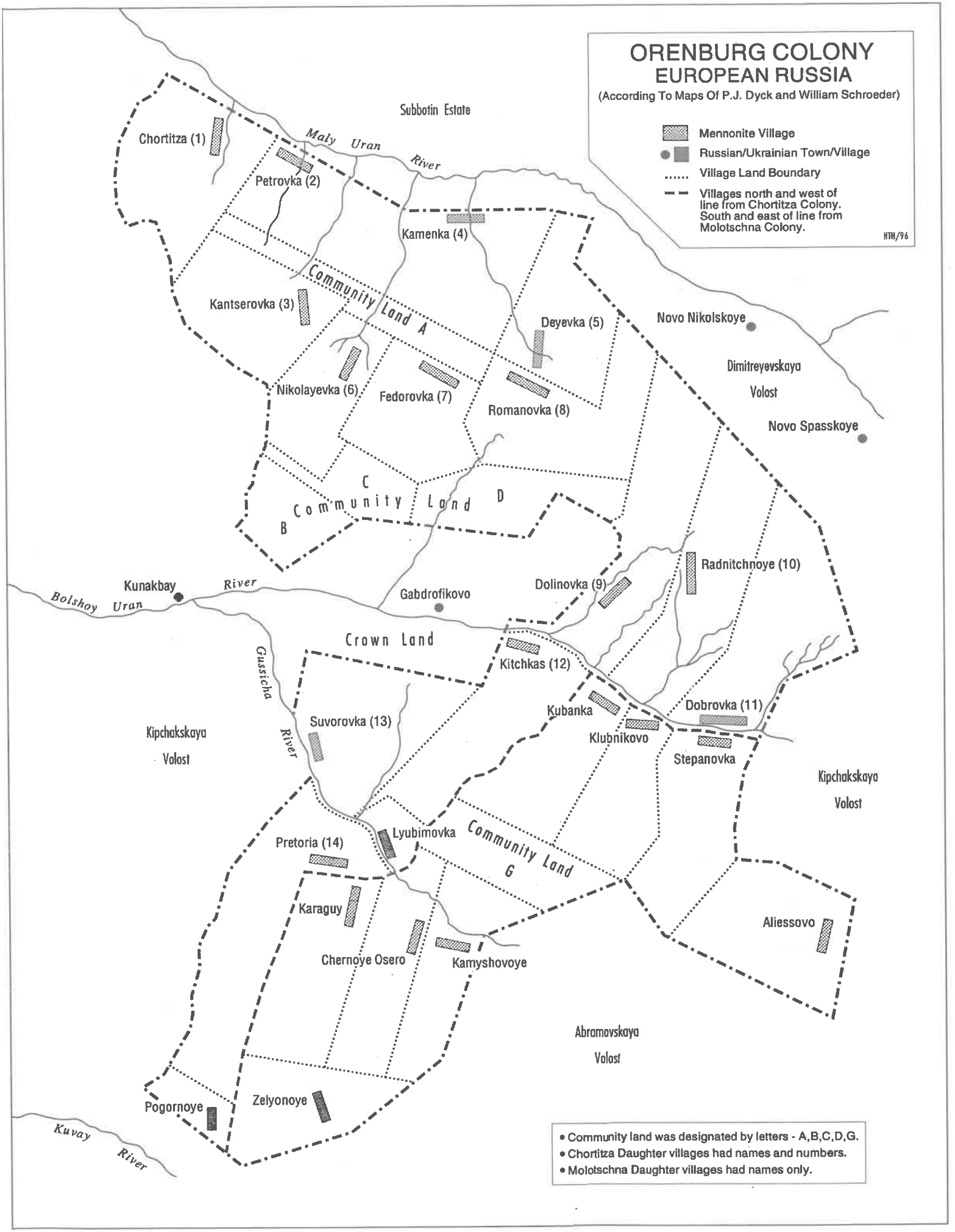

BARNAUL (SLAVGOROD) COLONY
ASIATIC RUSSIA (SIBERIA)
(According To J.J. Hildebrand and Gerhard Fast)
Mennonite Village
German Colonist Village
Russian Village
Road
Railroad
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
MTH/WS/96
79°E
Kargat
53°30'N
Toramekoe
Rodfasnovo
Gnadenfeld
Pretassov
Tiege
Neu Prischib
Nikolaifeld
Reinfeld
Schoental
Lichtfelde
Alexeifeld
Alexanderheim
Nikolaipol
Beryesovka
Nikolaidorf
Blumental
Gruenfeld
Rosenfeld
Schoensee
Schoenwiese
Chernovka
Hochstaedt
Orloff
Blumenort
Ebenfeld
Schoenau
Alexandrovka
Gnadenheim
Rosenhof
Panarobka
Schumanovka
Kleefeld
Olgafeld
Friedensfeld
Liebental
Heidelberg
Reichenfeld
Halbstadt
Alexanderkrone
Landskrone
Chortitza
Khokhluska
Znamenka
Markovka
Schoenfeld
Wiesenfeld
Alexanderfeld
Karatal
Slavgorod and Pavlodar
Slavgorod
Slavgorod
79°E
Kulundinskoye
Sea

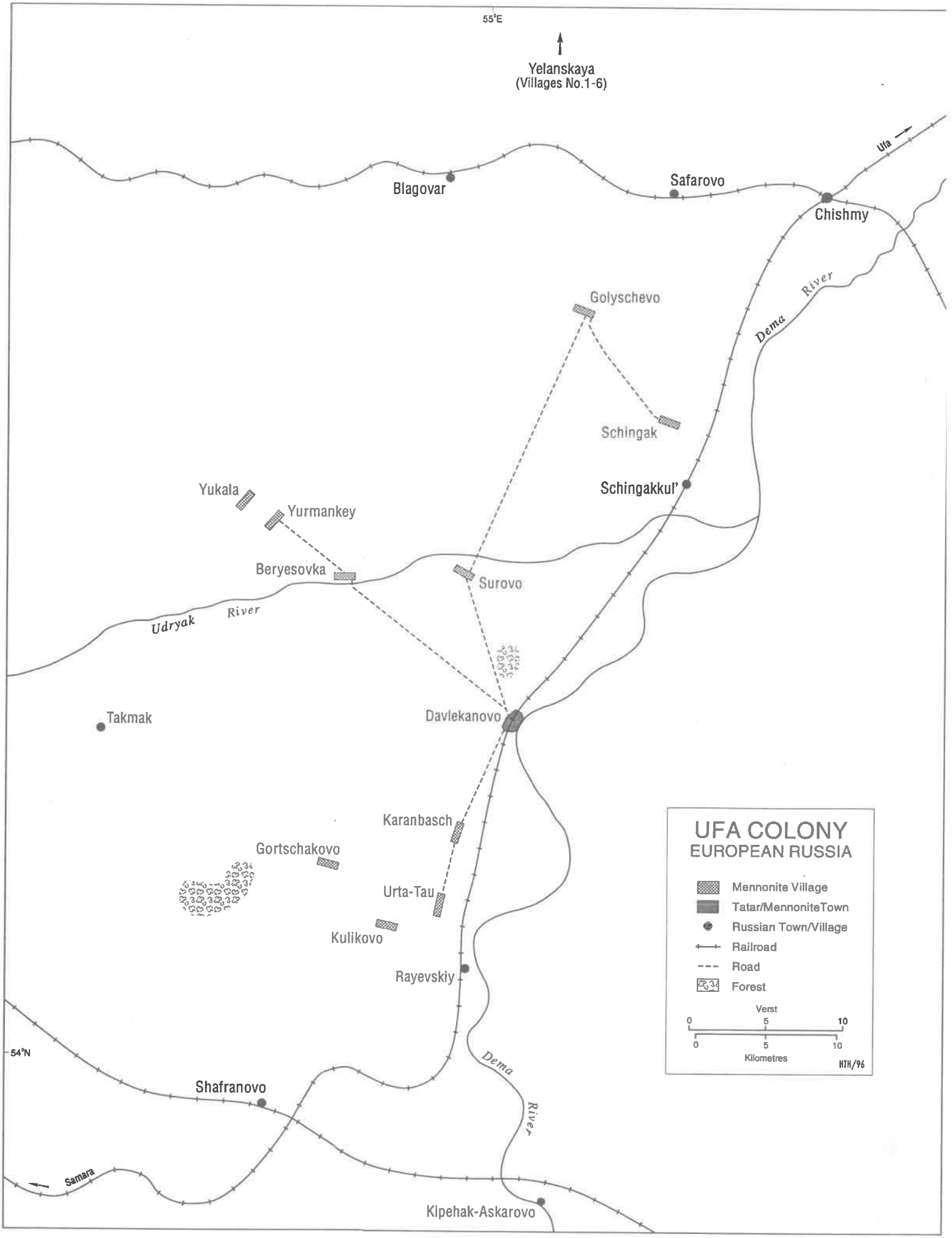

MENNONITE COLONIES
ON THE VOLGA RIVER
Mennonite Colony
Russian City/Town
Railroad
International Boundary
Verst
0 50 100
0 50 100
Kilometres
WS/95
Volga River
Kazan
Kama River
Asa
Chishmy
Ufa
UFA
Davlekanovo
Ul Janovsk
ALT SAMARA
Kondurcha R
Inza
Sterlitamak
Buguruslan
Salavat
Togliatti
Penza
Kuzneck
Samara
Novo Kujbisevsk
BEZENCHUK
NEU SAMARA
Buzuluk
ORENBURG
Sorochinsk
Novosergievka
Orenburg
Volga River
R U S S I A
Ural River
Saratov
Engels
Ershov
Ural' sk
AM TRAKT
Novouzensk
Aleksandrov Gaj
K A Z A K H S T A N

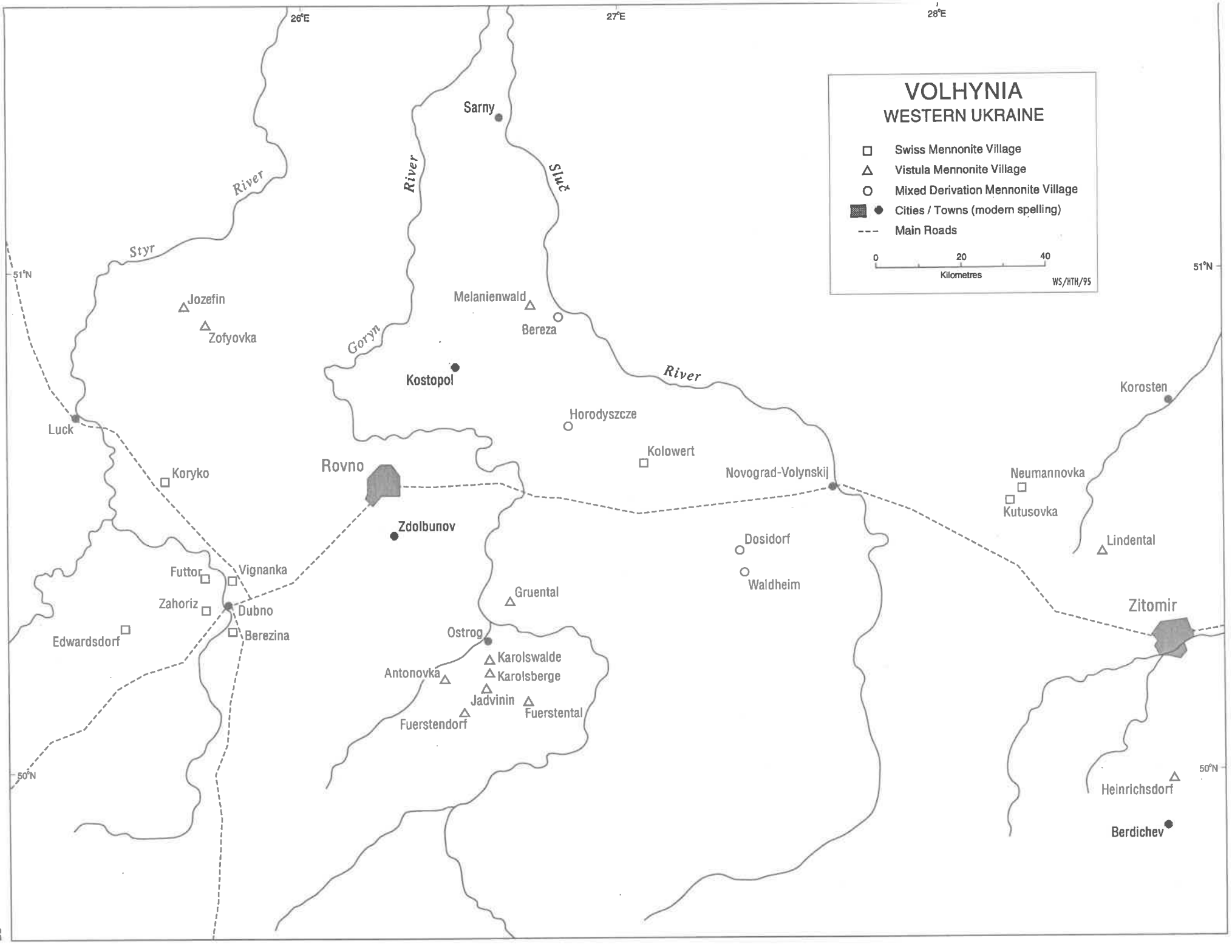

50°15E
Vladimir
(1911)
Pogruznaya Station
Koshki
54°15N
Orloff
Grotsfeld
Liebental
Muravyevka
Mariental
Schoenau
Beresovka
Lindenau
(Krasnovka)
Marienau
Alexandertal
Kondurcha River
Rettungstal
Neuhoffnung
Lebyashye
ALT SAMARA COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Mennonite Village
German Colonist Village
Russian Village
Village Land Boundary
Road
Railroad
Marsh
Forest
Verst
0 1 2 3
0 1 2 3
Kilometres
HTH/96

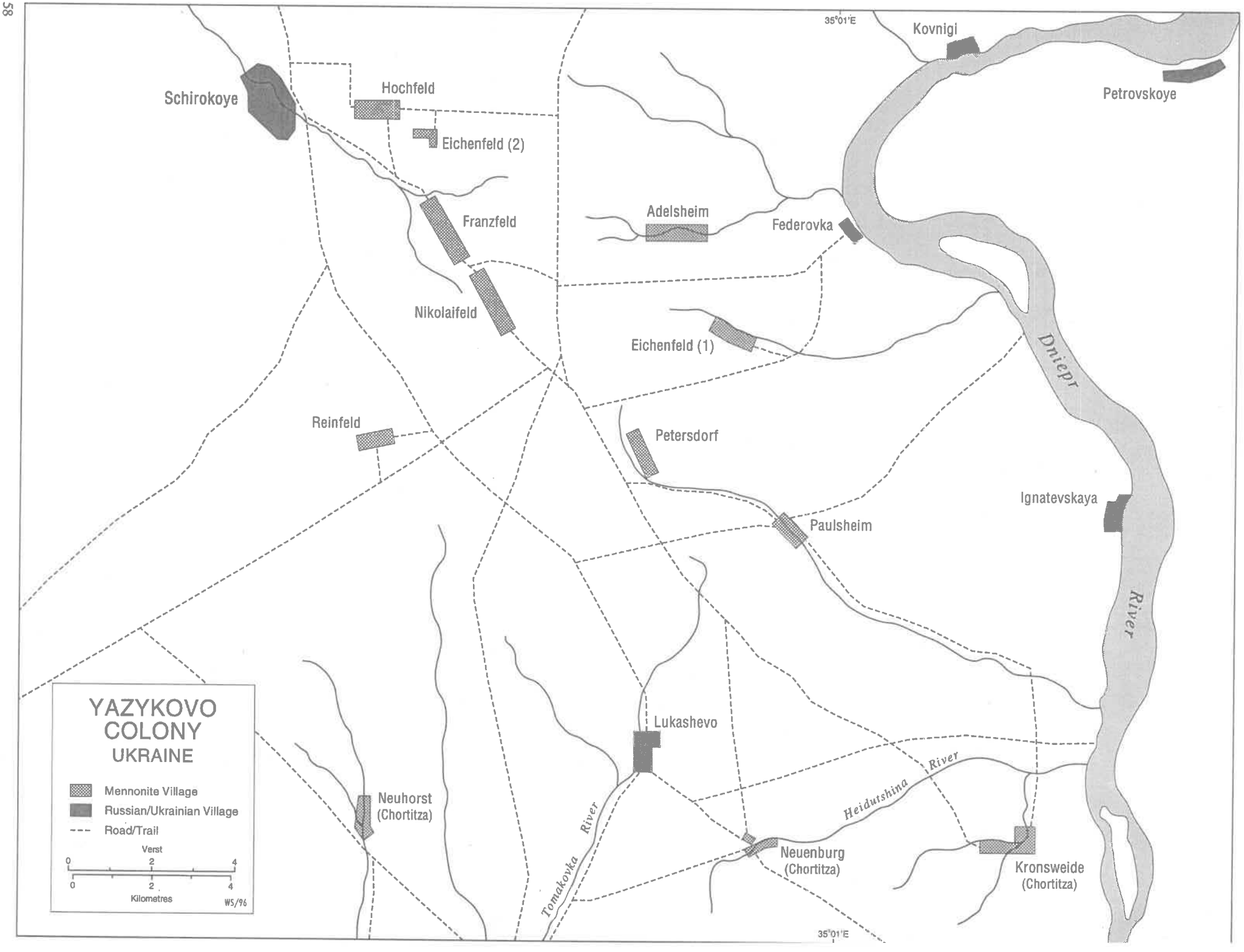

46°E
Saratov
Urbach
Gnadendorf
Neu Laub
Kukkus
Medemtal
Orloff
Ostenfeld
Fresenheim
Valuyevka
Lysanderhoeh
Hohendorf
Lindenau
Koeppental
Hahnsau
Laub
Dinkel
Tarlyka River
Malyshevka River
Krasny Kut
51°N
Straub
Alt Warenburg
Volga River
Salt Road (Trakt)
46°E
AM TRAKT COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Mennonite Village
German Colonist Village
Road
Railroad
Village Land Boundary
Verst
0 4 8
0 4 8
Kilometres
WS/HTH/96

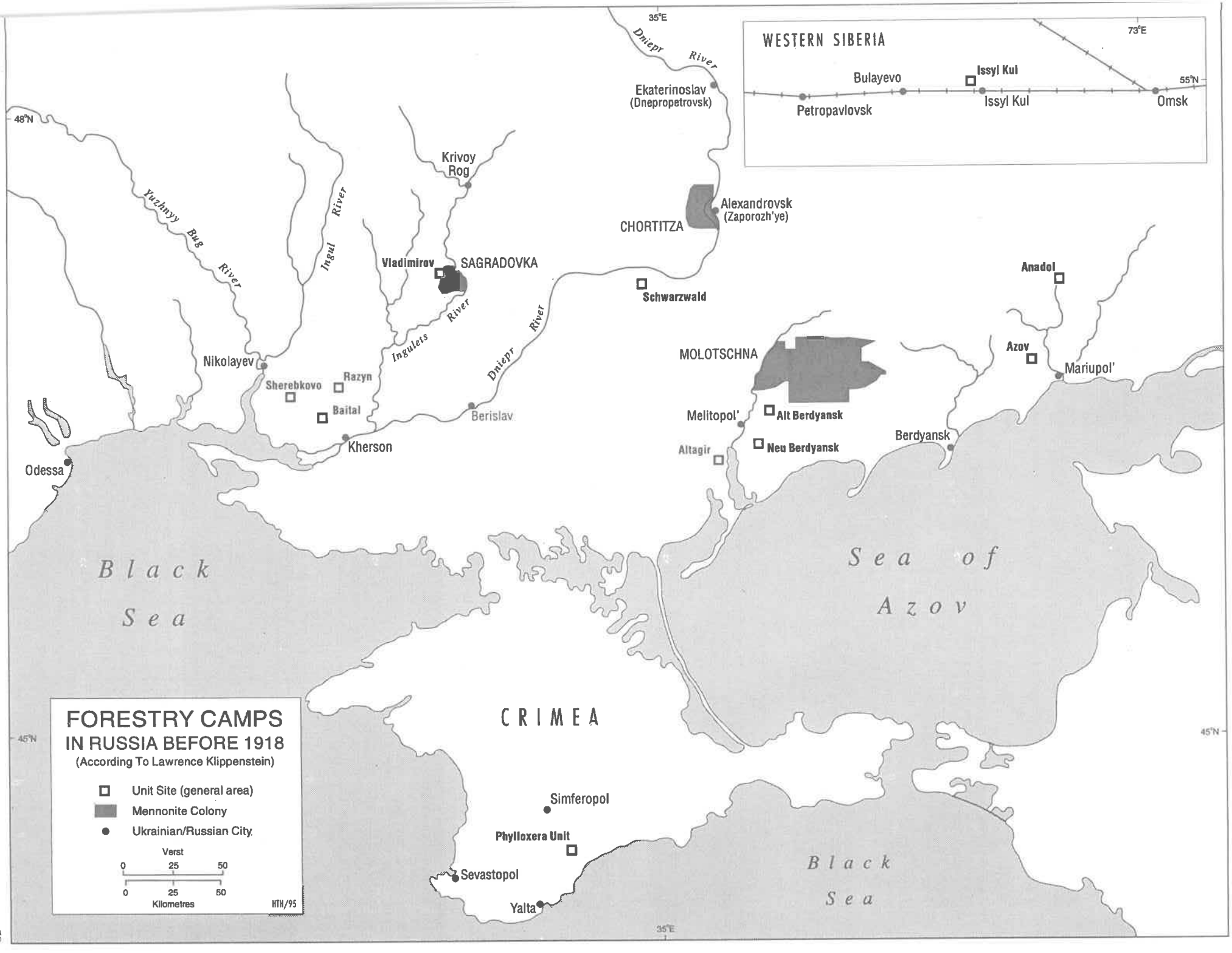

NEU SAMARA COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
(From Maps Provided By Daniel Janzen)
Mennonite Village
Russian Town/Village
Estate
Major Road (paved)
Road/Trail
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
Ural Mountain Foothill Spur
Tok River
Kristalka River
Kamenetz
Nisnaya Ilyaska
Srednyaya Ilyaska
Verchnyaya Ilyaska
Annenskoye
Ishalka
Bogomasov
Dolinsk
Mill
Novo-Yuldashevo
Donskoye
Vakanov
52°50'N
Ishalka River
Helenepol
H. Reimer
Otnashka River
Vladimirovka
Pleshanovo
Bereska River
Staro-Yuldashevo
Ivanovka
Podolsk
Lugovsk
Tok River
Klassen
Suchodol River
Yunkele River
Yugovka
Kaltanka River
Krassikov
Slobotshik
Klinok
Kaltan
F. Regehr
Kuterlya
H. Dyck
Drygin Sad
Kuterlinka River
Thiessen
J. Voth
Sorochinsk
J. Wieler
53°30E

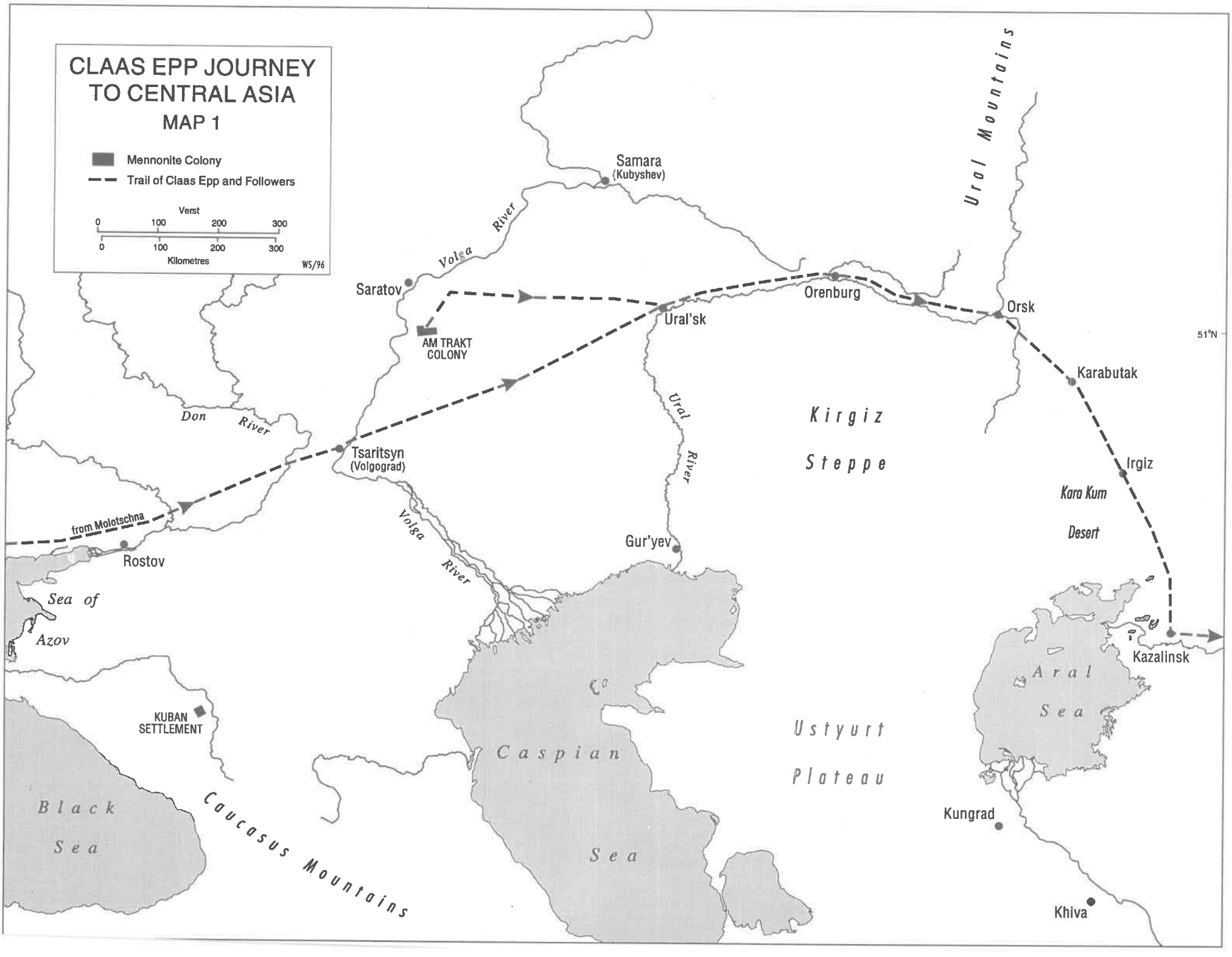

ORENBURG COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
(According To Maps Of P.J. Dyck and William Schroeder)
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Town/Village
Village Land Boundary
Villages north and west of line from Chortitza Colony. South and east of line from Molotschna Colony.
HTH/96
Subbotin Estate
Maly Uran River
Chortitza (1)
Petrovka (2)
Kamenka (4)
Community Land A
Kantserovka (3)
Deyevka (5)
Novo Nikolskoye
Dimitreyevskaya Volost
Nikolayevka (6)
Fedorovka (7)
Romanovka (8)
Novo Spasskoye
C
Community Land D
B
Radnitchnoye (10)
Kunakbay
Bolshoy Uran River
Gabdrofikovo
Dolinovka (9)
Crown Land
Kitchkas (12)
Gussicha River
Kubanka
Dobrovka (11)
Suvorovka (13)
Klubnikovo
Stepanovka
Kipchakskaya Volost
Kipchakskaya Volost
Lyubimovka
Community Land G
Pretoria (14)
Karaguy
Aliessovo
Chernoye Osero
Kamyshovoye
Abramovskaya Volost
Pogornoye
Zelyonoye
Kuvay River
• Community land was designated by letters - A,B,C,D,G.
• Chortitza Daughter villages had names and numbers.
• Molotschna Daughter villages had names only.

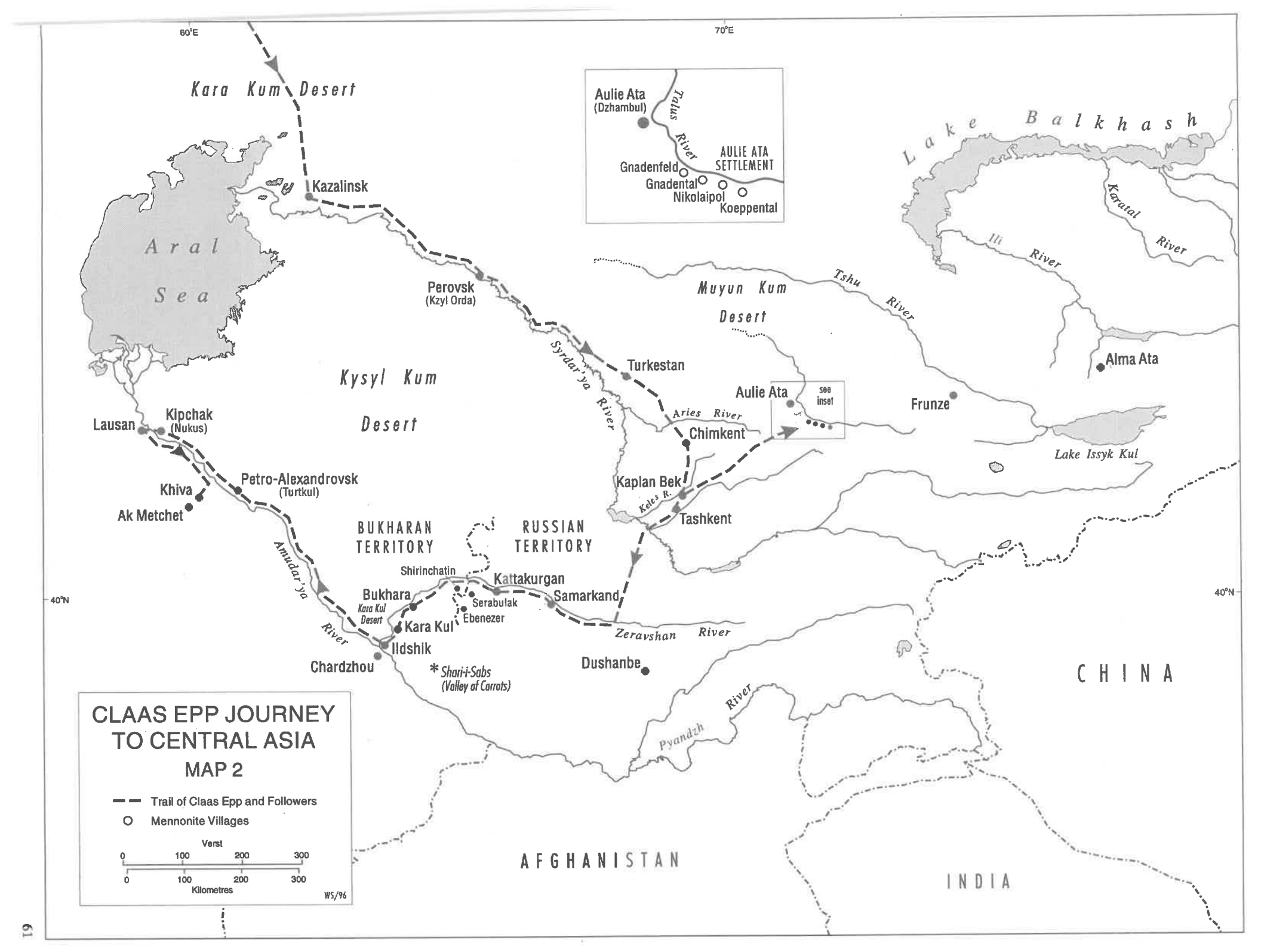

55°E
Yelanskaya
(Villages No.1-6)
Ufa
Blagovar
Safarovo
Chishmy
Golyschevo
Dema River
Schingak
Yukala
Yurmankey
Schingakkul'
Beryesovka
Surovo
Udryak River
Takmak
Davlekanovo
Karanbasch
Gortschakovo
Urta-Tau
Kulikovo
Rayevskiy
54°N
Dema River
Shafranovo
Samara
Kipehak-Askarovo
UFA COLONY
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Mennonite Village
Tatar/MennoniteTown
Russian Town/Village
Railroad
Road
Forest
Verst
0 5 10
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96


VOLHYNIA
WESTERN UKRAINE
Swiss Mennonite Village
Vistula Mennonite Village
Mixed Derivation Mennonite Village
Cities / Towns (modern spelling)
Main Roads
0
20
40
Kilometres
WS/HTH/95
26°E
27°E
28°E
51°N
50°N
River
Styr
Goryn
River
Slut
River
Sarny
Jozefin
Zofyovka
Melanienwald
Bereza
Kostopol
Horodyszcze
Kolowert
Korosten
Luck
Koryko
Rovno
Zdolbunov
Novograd-Volynskij
Neumannovka
Kutusovka
Lindental
Dosidorf
Waldheim
Futtor
Vignanka
Zahoriz
Dubno
Berezina
Edwardsdorf
Gruental
Ostrog
Karolswalde
Karolsberge
Antonovka
Jadvinin
Fuerstental
Fuerstendorf
Zitomir
Heinrichsdorf
Berdichev


35°01'E
Kovnigi
Petrovskoye
Schirokoye
Hochfeld
Eichenfeld (2)
Franzfeld
Nikolaifeld
Adelsheim
Federovka
Eichenfeld (1)
Dniepr River
Reinfeld
Petersdorf
Ignatevskaya
Paulsheim
Lukashevo
Neuhorst (Chortitza)
Tomakovka River
Heidutshina River
Neuenburg (Chortitza)
Kronsweide (Chortitza)
35°01'E
YAZYKOVO COLONY
UKRAINE
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Village
Road/Trail
Verst
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96

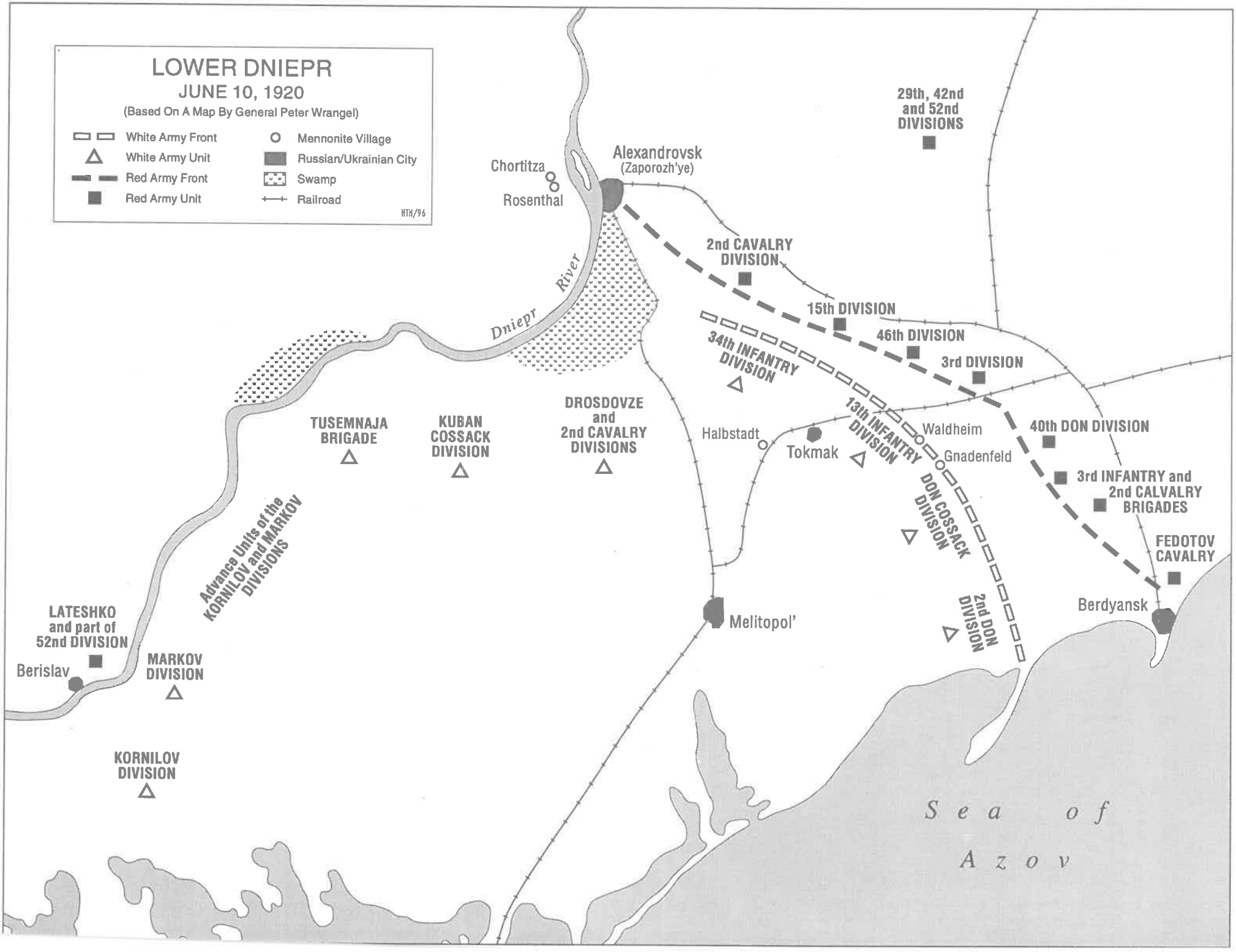

WESTERN SIBERIA
73°E
55°N
Bulayevo
Issyl Kul
Petropavlovsk
Issyl Kul
Omsk
35°E
Dniepr River
Ekaterinoslav
(Dnepropetrovsk)
48°N
Krivoy Rog
Yuzhnyy Bug River
Ingul River
CHORTITZA
Alexandrovsk
(Zaporozh'ye)
Vladimirov
SAGRADOVKA
Schwarzwald
Anadol
Inguletz River
Dniepr River
MOLOTSCHNA
Azov
Mariupol'
Nikolayev
Sherebkovo
Razyn
Baital
Berislav
Melitopol'
Alt Berdyansk
Neu Berdyansk
Berdyansk
Altagir
Kherson
Odessa
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
45°N
Simferopol
Phylloxera Unit
Sevastopol
Yalta
Black Sea
35°E
45°N
FORESTRY CAMPS
IN RUSSIA BEFORE 1918
(According To Lawrence Klippenstein)
Unit Site (general area)
Mennonite Colony
Ukrainian/Russian City
Verst
0 25 50
0 25 50
Kilometres
HTH/95

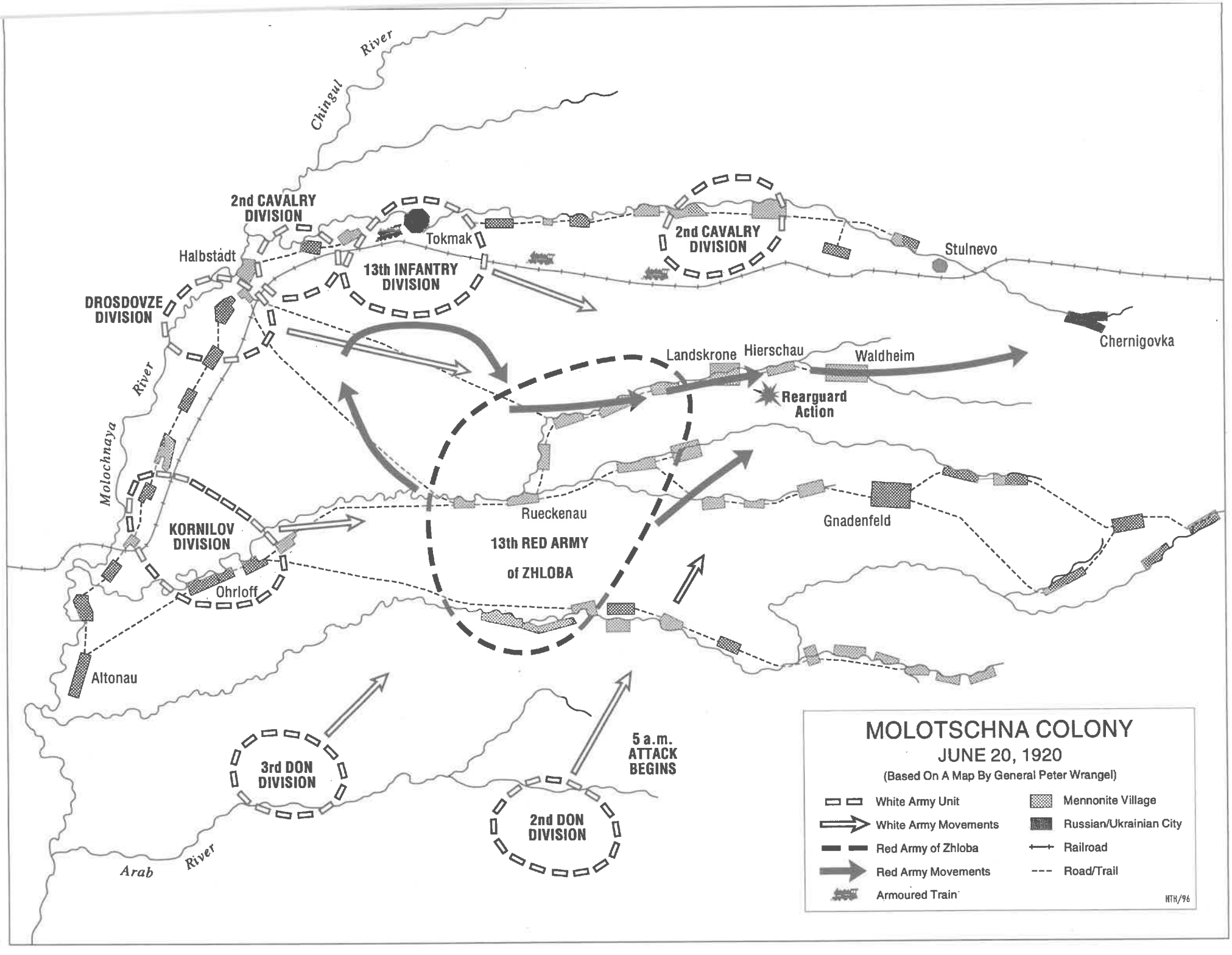

CLAAS EPP JOURNEY
TO CENTRAL ASIA
MAP 1
Mennonite Colony
Trail of Claas Epp and Followers
Verst
0 100 200 300
0 100 200 300
Kilometres
WS/96
Samara
(Kubyshev)
Volga River
Saratov
AM TRAKT
COLONY
Ural Mountains
Orenburg
Ural'sk
Orsk
51°N
Karabutak
Kirgiz
Steppe
Ural River
Irgiz
Kara Kum
Desert
Don River
Tsaritsyn
(Volgograd)
from Molotschna
Rostov
Volga River
Gur'yev
Sea of
Azov
Kazalinsk
Aral
Sea
KUBAN
SETTLEMENT
Caspian
Sea
Ustyurt
Plateau
Black
Sea
Caucasus Mountains
Kungrad
Khiva


60°E
70°E
40°N
40°N
Kara Kum Desert
Aulie Ata
(Dzhambul)
Talus River
AULIE ATA SETTLEMENT
Gnadenfeld
Gnadental
Nikolaipol
Koeppental
Lake Balkhash
Karatal River
Ili River
Kazalinsk
Aral Sea
Perovsk
(Kzyl Orda)
Muyun Kum Desert
Tshu River
Alma Ata
Syrdar'ya River
Turkestan
Kysyl Kum Desert
Aulie Ata
see inset
Frunze
Aries River
Chimkent
Lausan
Kipchak
(Nukus)
Lake Issyk Kul
Kaplan Bek
Keles R.
Petro-Alexandrovsk
(Turtkul)
Khiva
Ak Metchet
Tashkent
BUKHARAN TERRITORY
RUSSIAN TERRITORY
Amudar'ya River
Shirinchatin
Kattakurgan
Bukhara
Samarkand
Serabulak
Kara Kul Desert
Ebenezer
Kara Kul
Zeravshan River
Ildshik
Chardzhou
* Shari-i-Sabs
(Valley of Carrots)
Dushanbe
CHINA
Pyandzh River
AFGHANISTAN
INDIA
CLAAS EPP JOURNEY TO CENTRAL ASIA
MAP 2
Trail of Claas Epp and Followers
Mennonite Villages
Verst
0 100 200 300
0 100 200 300
Kilometres
WS/96

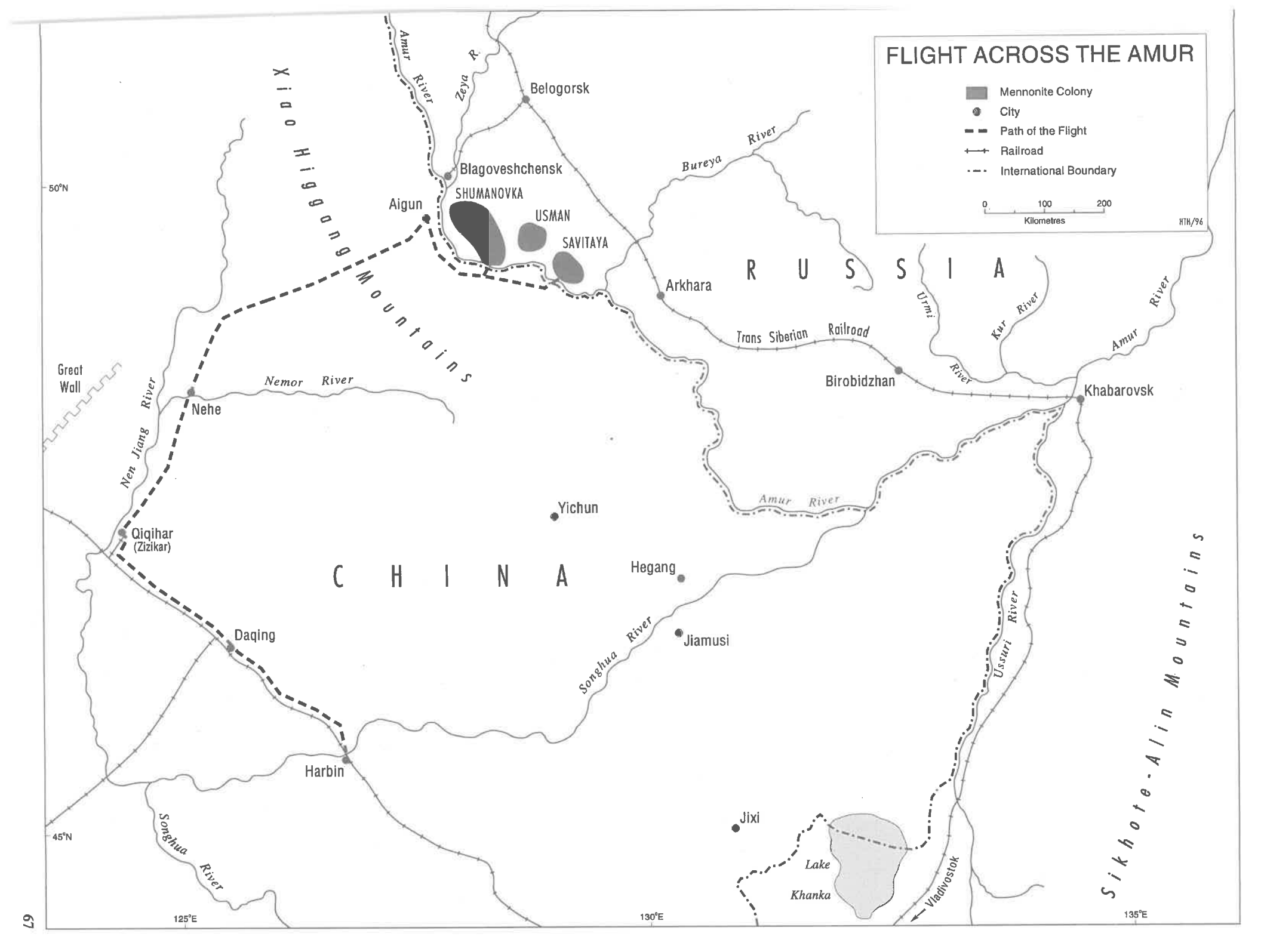
EASTERN EUROPE
1917-1918
Eastern Front, November 7, 1917
Occupied by German troops, March-April 1918
0
200
400
Kilometres
HTH/96
Norwegian Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Gulf of Bothnia
Helsinki
Petrograd
Oslo
Stockholm
Revel
Moscow
RUSSIA
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Riga
Koenigsberg
Minsk
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
Hamburg
Berlin
Warsaw
Pripet Marshes
GERMANY
Brest Litovsk
Kiev
Khar'kov
Prague
Lemberg
SAGRADOVKA
CHORTITZA
Mariupol'
MOLOTSCHNA
Vienna
Budapest
Odessa
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Black Sea
Sarajevo
Belgrade
Bucharest
ITALY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE
Mediterranean Sea

RUSSIA
UKRAINE
ROMANIA
CRIMEA
Black Sea
Sea of Azov
Kiev
Belaya Tserkov'
Dniepr River
Kanev
Cherkassy
Mirgorod
Poltava
Khar'kov
Andreyevka
Starobel'sk
Donets River
Kremenchug
Lozovaya
Uman'
Sinukha River
Kirovograd
Novoukrainka
Yuzhnyy Bug River
Pavlograd
Ekaterinoslav (Dnepropetrovsk)
Hochfeld
Eichenfeld
Kronsweide
Einlage
Alexandrovsk (Zaporozh'ye)
Osterwick
Nieder-Chortitza
Krivoy Rog
Tiege
Muensterberg
Orloff
Voznesensk
Nikopol'
Orekhov
Pologi
Tokmak
Blumenort
Altonau
Ohrloff
Volnovakha
Gulyaipole
Matveyev Kurgan
Taganrog
Rostov
Don River
Mariupol'
Melitopol'
Berdyansk
Nikolayev
Kherson
Dniepr River
Kakhovka
Dniester River
Ochakov
Odessa
Perekop
Krasnoperekopsk
Simferopol
Sevastopol
I
II
MAKHNO SPHERE OF ACTIVITY
(Based On A Map By Lewis A. Armstrong)
I Main Region of Activities and Support
II Extended Area of Influence
Ukrainian City/Town
Mennonite Village
0 50 100
Kilometres
HTH/96

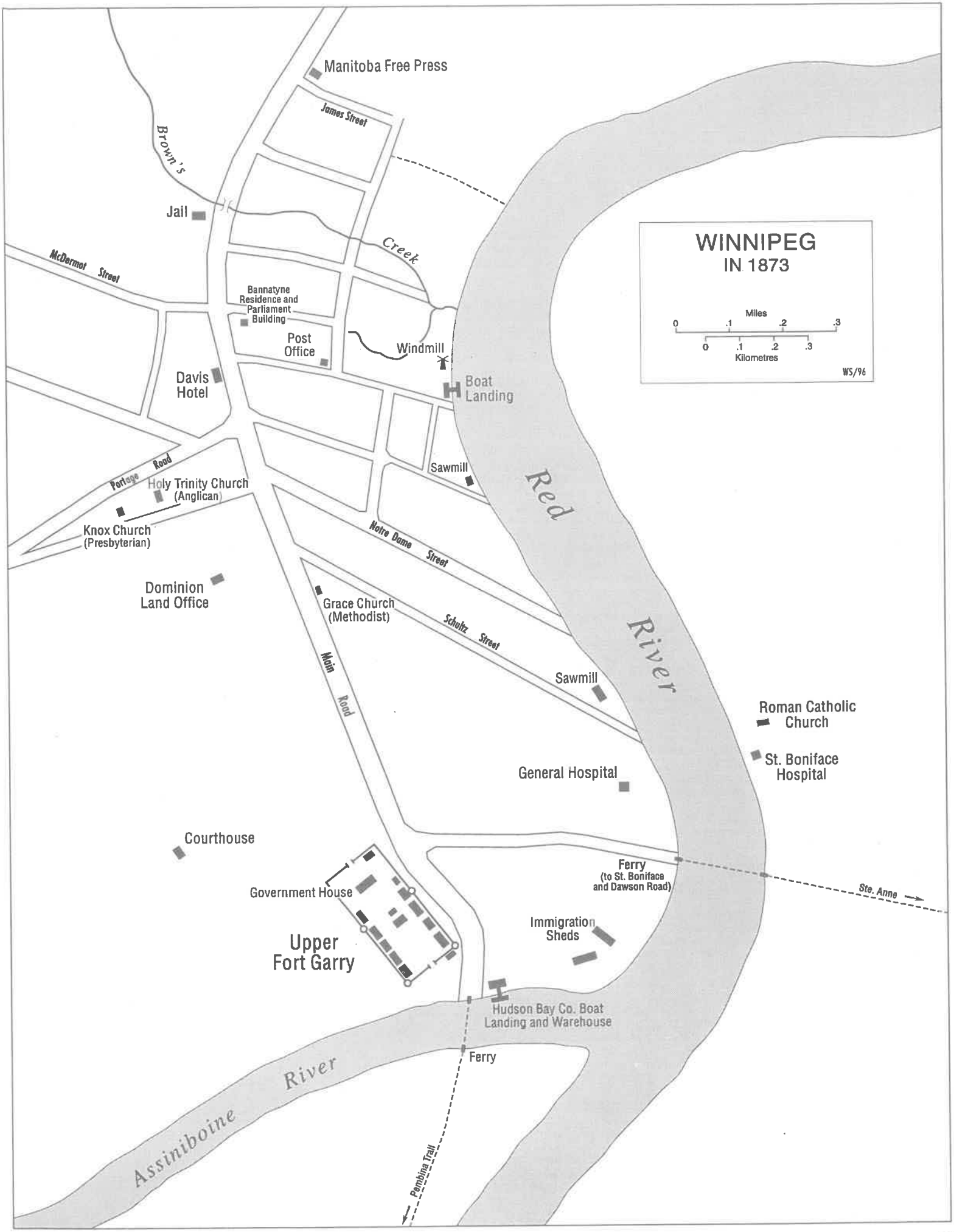

LOWER DNIEPR
JUNE 10, 1920
(Based On A Map By General Peter Wrangel)
White Army Front
White Army Unit
Red Army Front
Red Army Unit
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian City
Swamp
Railroad
HTH/96
Chortitza
Rosenthal
Alexandrovsk
(Zaporozh'ye)
29th, 42nd
and 52nd
DIVISIONS
2nd CAVALRY
DIVISION
15th DIVISION
46th DIVISION
3rd DIVISION
34th INFANTRY
DIVISION
Dniepr River
TUSEMNAJA
BRIGADE
KUBAN
COSSACK
DIVISION
DROSDOVZE
and
2nd CAVALRY
DIVISIONS
Halbstadt
Tokmak
13th INFANTRY
DIVISION
Waldheim
Gnadenfeld
40th DON DIVISION
3rd INFANTRY and
2nd CALVALRY
BRIGADES
DON COSSACK
DIVISION
FEDOTOV
CAVALRY
Advance Units of the
KORNILOV and MARKOV
DIVISIONS
LATESHKO
and part of
52nd DIVISION
Berislav
MARKOV
DIVISION
Melitopol'
2nd DON
DIVISION
Berdyansk
KORNILOV
DIVISION
Sea of
Azov

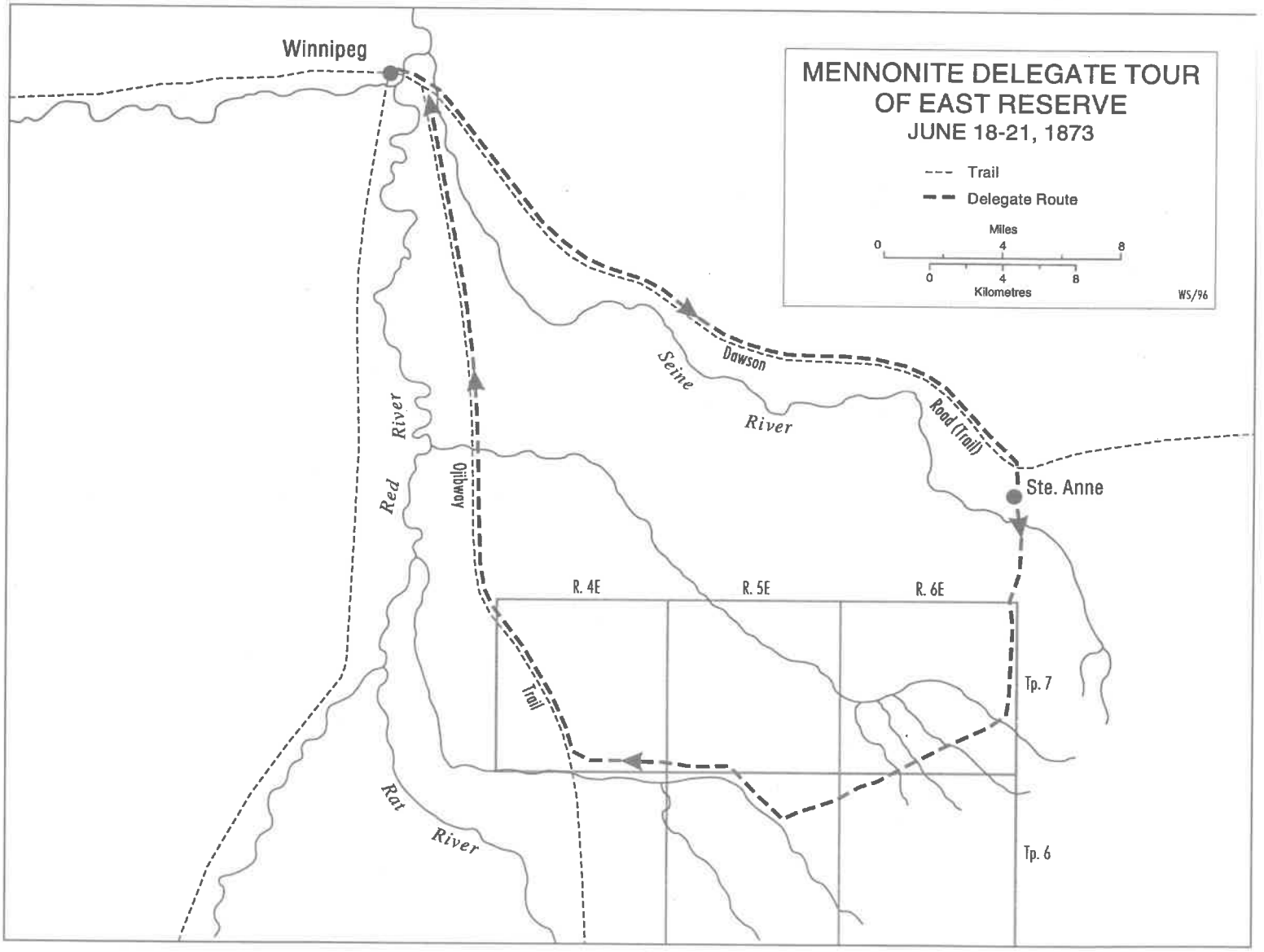

Chingul River
2nd CAVALRY DIVISION
Halbstadt
Tokmak
13th INFANTRY DIVISION
2nd CAVALRY DIVISION
Stulnevo
DROSDOVZE DIVISION
Chernigovka
Landskrone
Hierschau
Waldheim
Rearguard Action
Molochnaya River
Rueckenau
13th RED ARMY of ZHLOBA
Gnadenfeld
KORNILOV DIVISION
Ohrloff
Altonau
3rd DON DIVISION
2nd DON DIVISION
5 a.m. ATTACK BEGINS
Arab River
MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
JUNE 20, 1920
(Based On A Map By General Peter Wrangel)
White Army Unit
White Army Movements
Red Army of Zhloba
Red Army Movements
Armoured Train
Mennonite Village
Russian/Ukrainian City
Railroad
Road/Trail
HTH/96

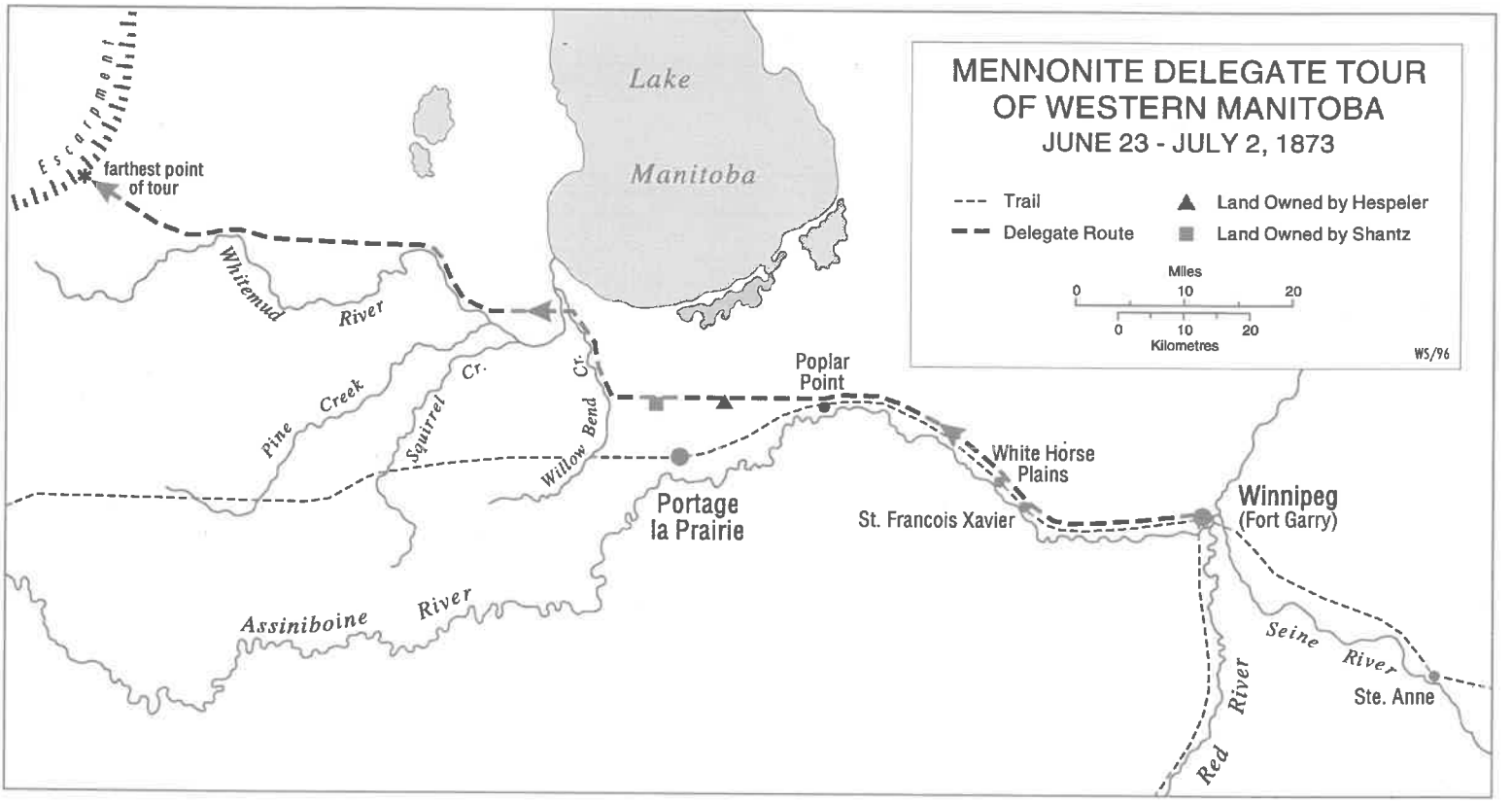
AMUR COLONIES
(In Part According To K. Stumpp)
Mennonite Village
City
Railroad
Approximate Border of Mennonite Colony
International Boundary
0 10 20
Kilometres
WS/HTH/95
128°E
50°N
RUSSIA
CHINA
Amur River
Ivanovka
Ivanovka River
Blagoveshchensk
Heihe
Tambovka
Gilchin River
Topkotshna River
Trans Siberian Railroad
Michailovka
Savitaya River
Aigun
(Xigangzi)
Osernoye
SHUMANOVKA
Gruenfeld
New York
Kleefeld
Shumanovka
Konstantinovka
Belo Beryesovka
Orlovka
Eichenfeld
USMAN
Blumenort
Silberfeld
SAVITAYA
Raychikhinsk
Poyarkovo
Orechov
Reinfeld
Halbstadt
Schoensee
Pribrezhnoye
Chesnovkovo
Xunke
Kipriyanovka
Amur River
Bureya River
Xun He River
Where Exact Location Unknown:
SHUMANOVKA COLONY
Friedensfeld
Memrik
Ebenfeld
USMAN COLONY
Rosental
Gnadenfeld
MUCHINO COLONY
Yurgino
Bodanovka
NEVZOROVKA COLONY

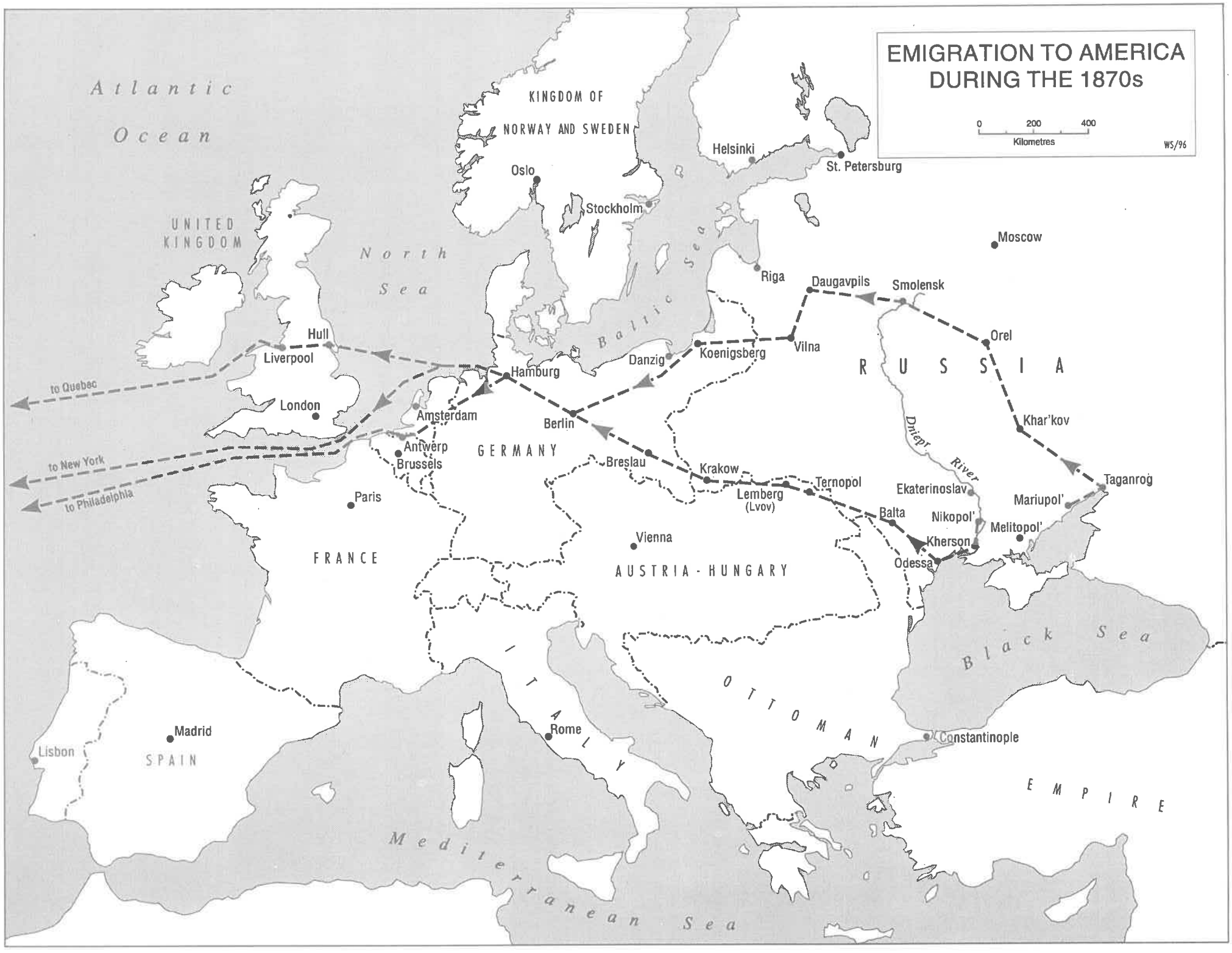

FLIGHT ACROSS THE AMUR
Mennonite Colony
City
Path of the Flight
Railroad
International Boundary
0 100 200
Kilometres
HTH/96
RUSSIA
CHINA
Amur River
Zeya R.
Belogorsk
Blagoveshchensk
Aigun
SHUMANOVKA
USMAN
SAVITAYA
Bureya River
Arkhara
Trans Siberian Railroad
Urmi River
Kur River
Amur River
Birobidzhan
Khabarovsk
Xiao Higgang Mountains
Great Wall
Nen Jiang River
Nemor River
Nehe
Yichun
Amur River
Qiqihar (Zizikar)
Hegang
Daqing
Songhua River
Jiamusi
Ussuri River
Harbin
Songhua River
Jixi
Lake Khanka
Vladivostok
Sikhote-Alin Mountains
50°N
45°N
125°E
130°E
135°E

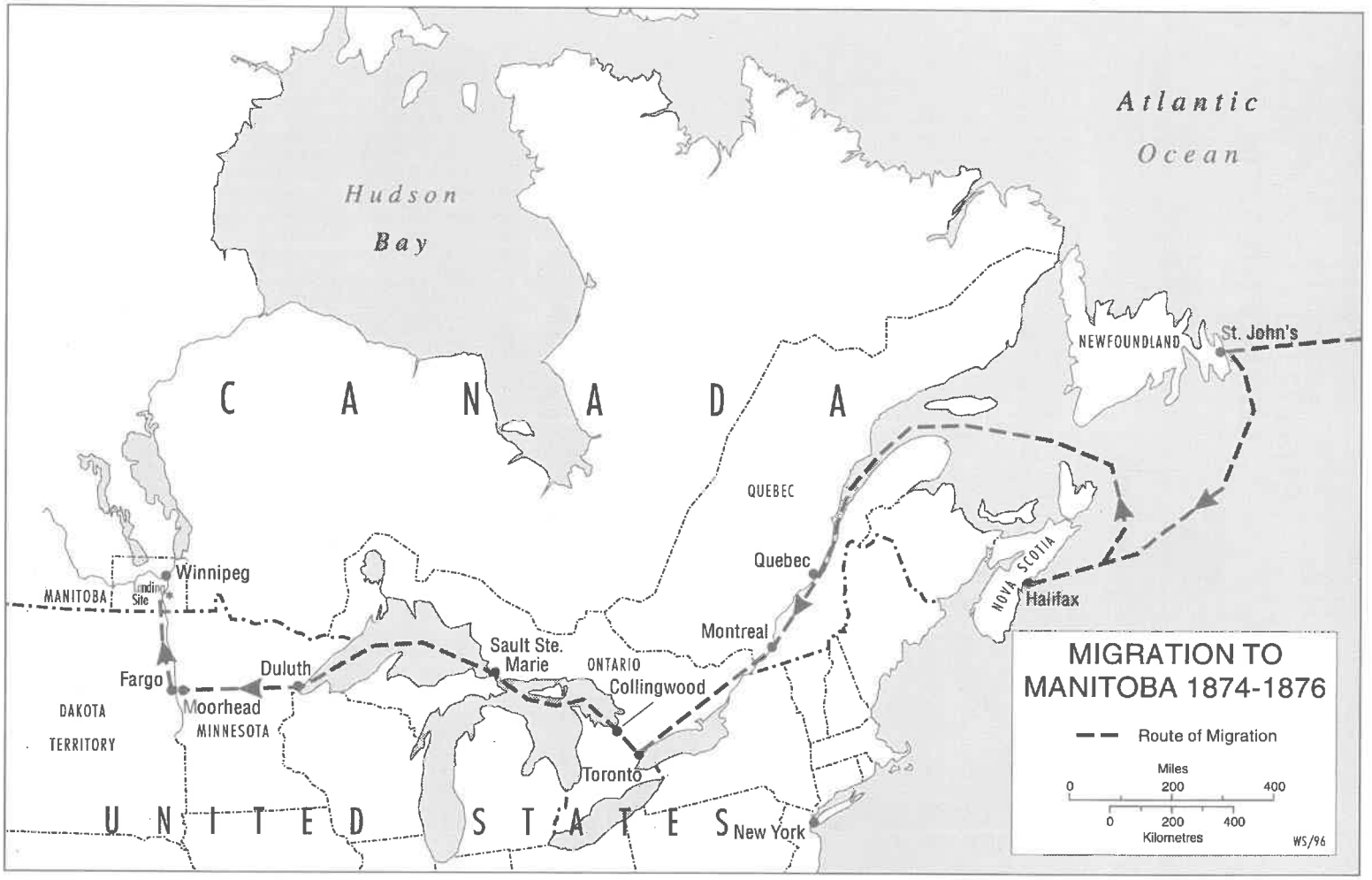
THE GREAT TREK OF HIERSCHAU REFUGEES
1943-1945
Showing Borders Of 1937
Path of the Trek
International Boundary
0 100 200 300
Kilometres
HTH/96
North Sea
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Baltic Sea
ESTONIA
LATVIA
Riga
LITHUANIA
EAST PRUSSIA
Gdańsk
Minsk
U. S. S. R.
Dniepr River
Bremen
Hamburg
Soltau
Hermannsburg
Wolfsburg
Hannover
Berlin
Elbe R.
GERMANY
Poznań
Kutno
Warsaw
Łódź
POLAND
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Lvov
Kiev
Khar'kov
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
Vinnitsa
Kamenets Podol'skiy
Rakhmanovka
MOLOTSCHNA
Melitopol'
Berislav
Odessa
Kakhovka
CRIMEA
ITALY
ROMANIA
Belgrade
YUGOSLAVIA
Bucharest
Black Sea
Rome
BULGARIA

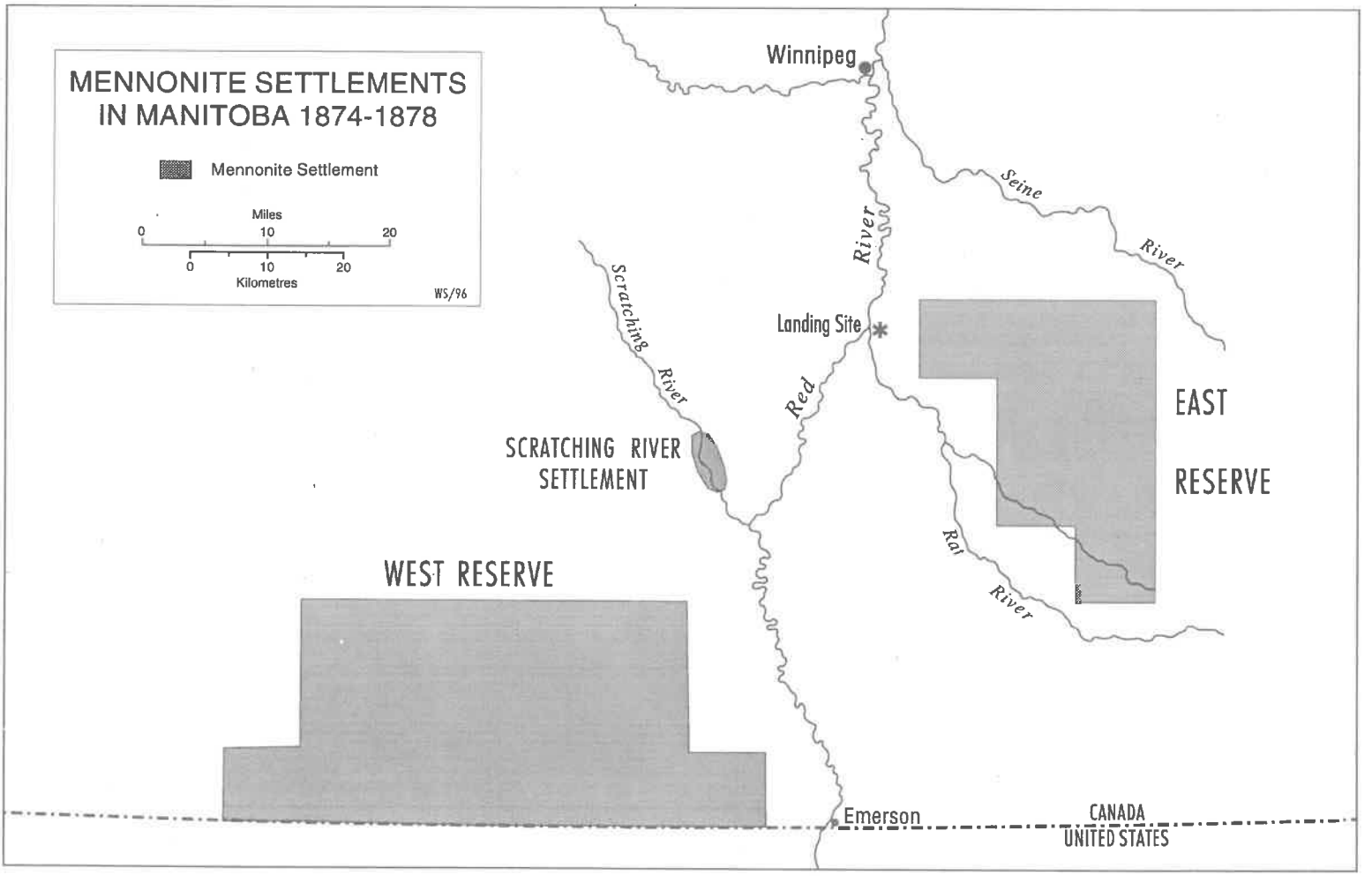

WINNIPEG
IN 1873
Miles
0 .1 .2 .3
0 .1 .2 .3
Kilometres
WS/96
Manitoba Free Press
James Street
Brown's Creek
Jail
McDermot Street
Bannatyne Residence and Parliament Building
Post Office
Windmill
Davis Hotel
Boat Landing
Sawmill
Portage Road
Holy Trinity Church (Anglican)
Knox Church (Presbyterian)
Notre Dame Street
Red River
Dominion Land Office
Grace Church (Methodist)
Schultz Street
Main Road
Sawmill
Roman Catholic Church
St. Boniface Hospital
General Hospital
Courthouse
Ferry (to St. Boniface and Dawson Road)
Ste. Anne
Government House
Immigration Sheds
Upper Fort Garry
Hudson Bay Co. Boat Landing and Warehouse
Ferry
Assiniboine River
Pembina Trail

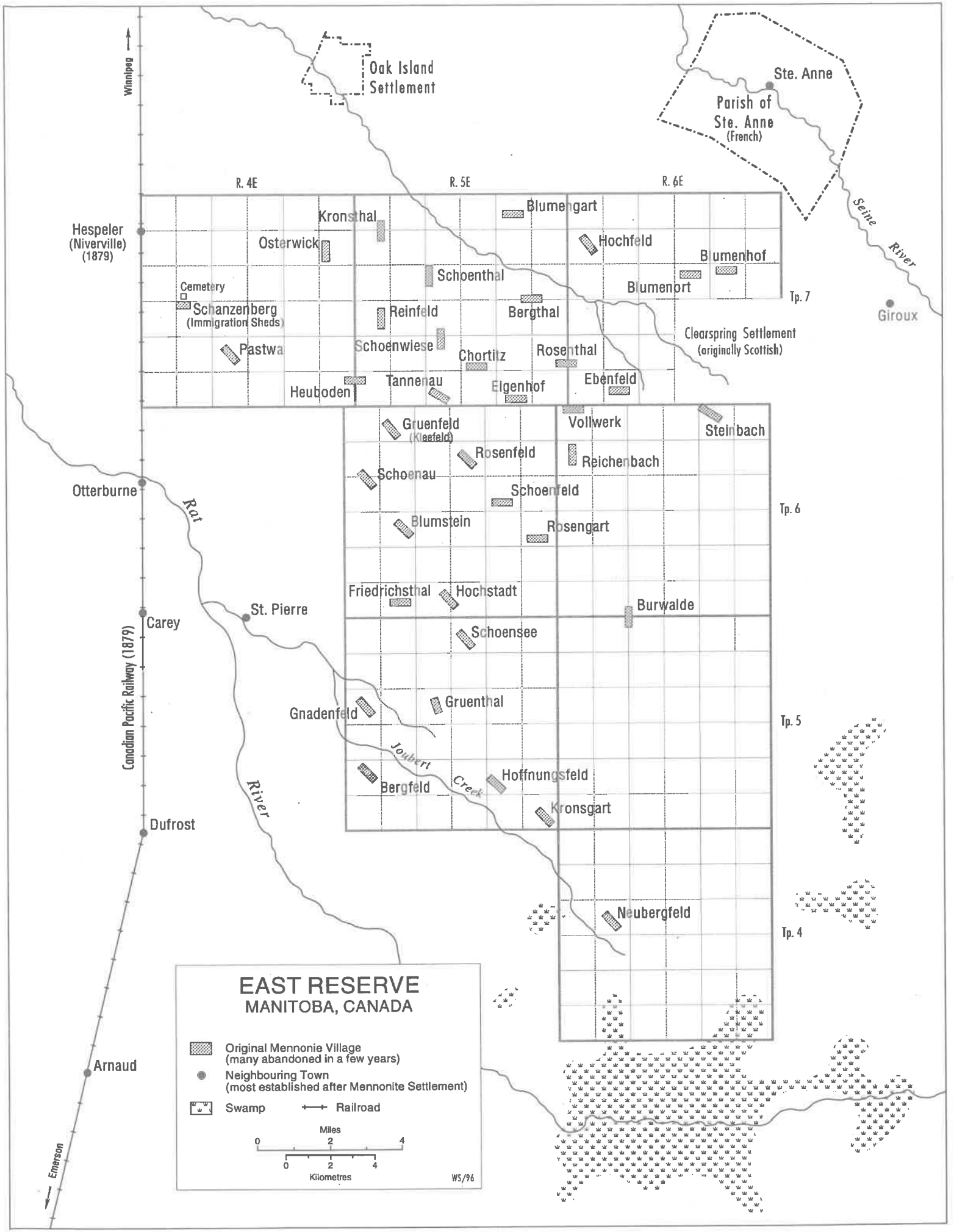

MENNONITE DELEGATE TOUR
OF EAST RESERVE
JUNE 18-21, 1873
Trail
Delegate Route
Miles
0 4 8
0 4 8
Kilometres
WS/96
Winnipeg
Dawson Road (Trail)
Seine River
Red River
Ottoway Trail
Ste. Anne
R. 4E
R. 5E
R. 6E
Tp. 7
Tp. 6
Rat River

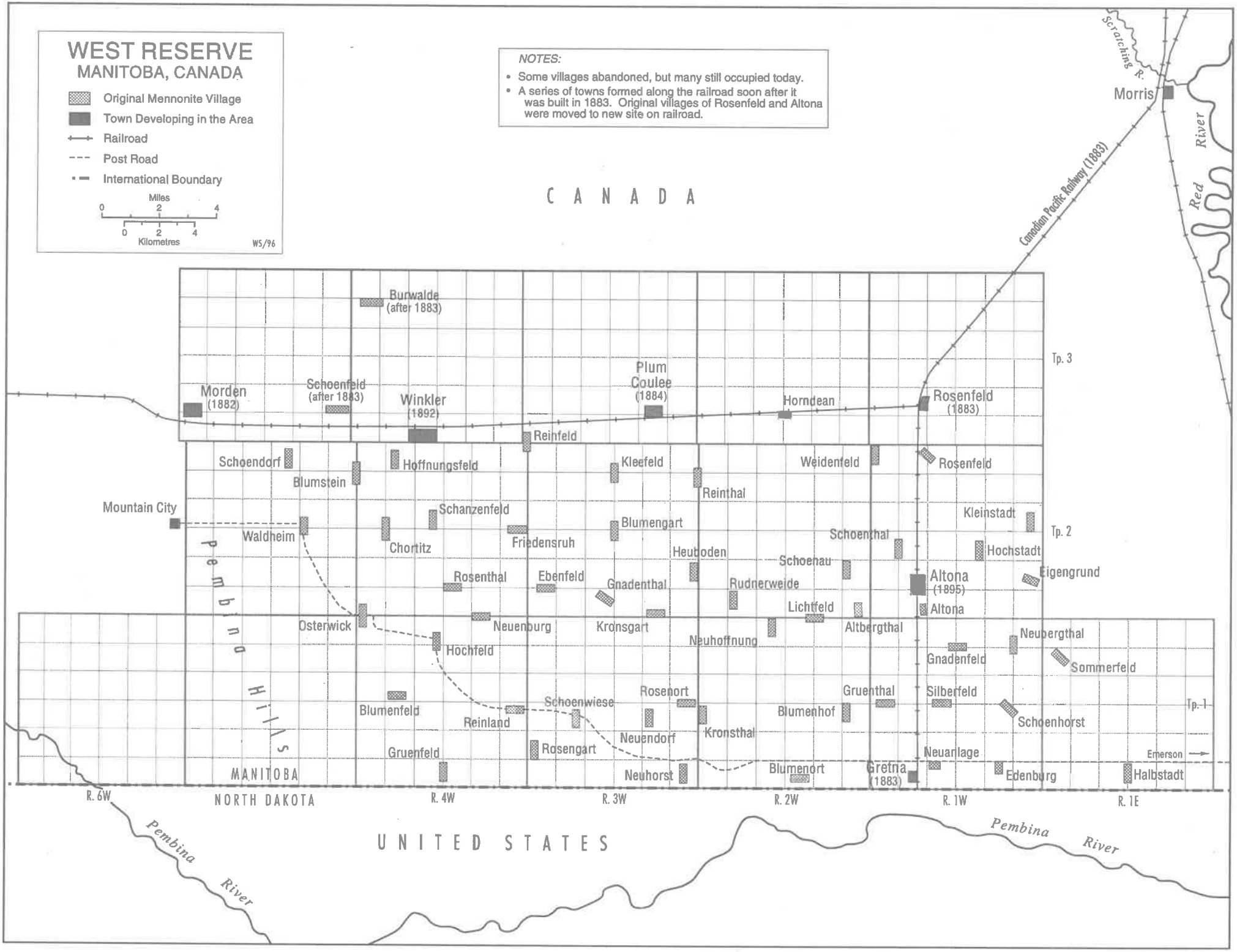

MENNONITE DELEGATE TOUR
OF WESTERN MANITOBA
JUNE 23 - JULY 2, 1873
Trail
Delegate Route
Land Owned by Hespeler
Land Owned by Shantz
Miles
0 10 20
0 10 20
Kilometres
WS/96
Escarpment
farthest point of tour
Lake Manitoba
Whitemud River
Pine Creek
Squirrel Cr.
Willow Bend Cr.
Poplar Point
White Horse Plains
Portage la Prairie
St. Francois Xavier
Winnipeg (Fort Garry)
Assiniboine River
Seine River
Red River
Ste. Anne

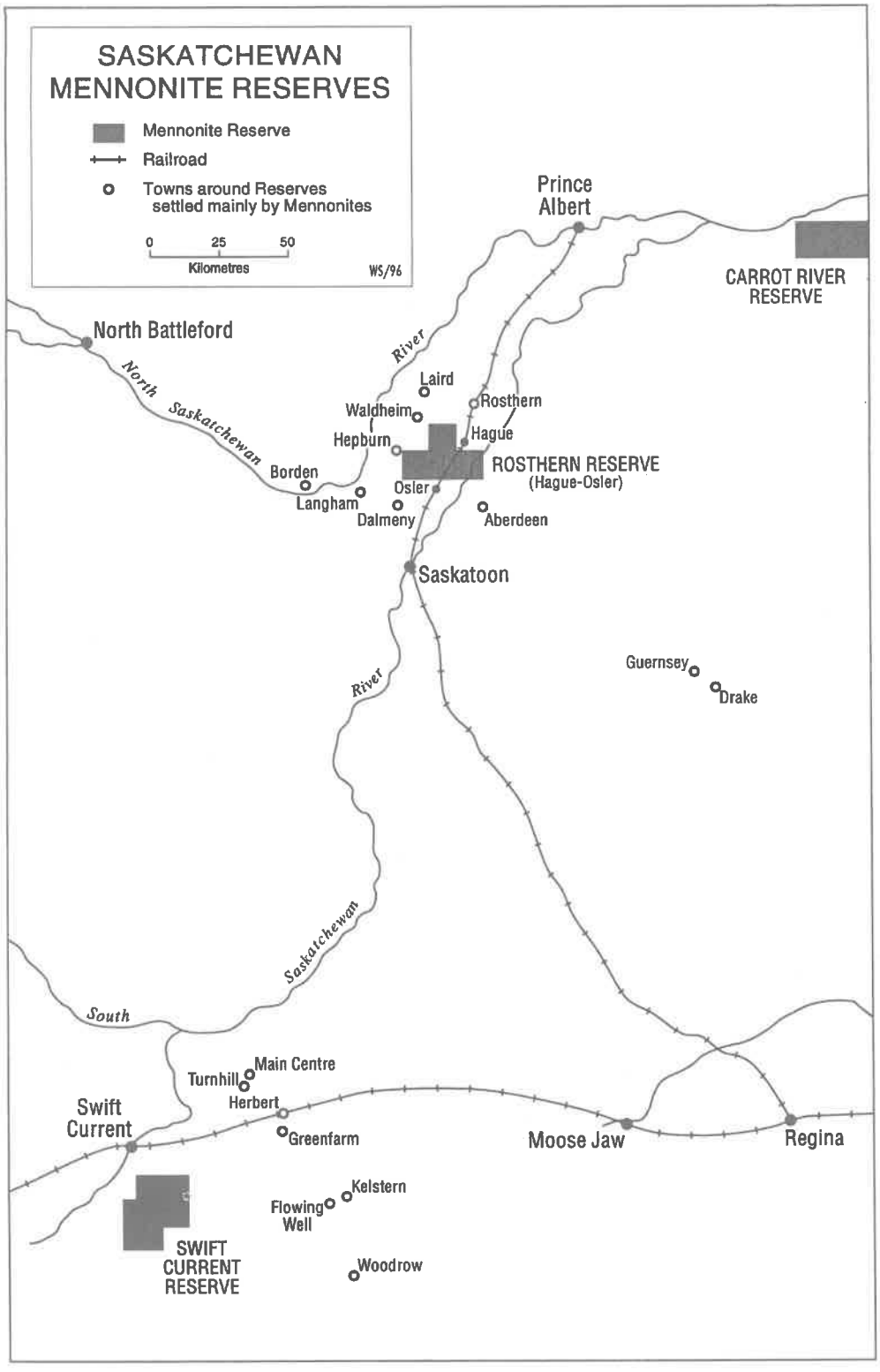

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA DURING THE 1870s
0 200 400
Kilometres
WS/96
Atlantic Ocean
KINGDOM OF NORWAY AND SWEDEN
Oslo
Stockholm
Helsinki
St. Petersburg
Moscow
UNITED KINGDOM
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Riga
Daugavpils
Smolensk
Orel
Vilna
Koenigsberg
Danzig
Hull
Liverpool
Hamburg
RUSSIA
to Quebec
London
Amsterdam
Berlin
Antwerp
Brussels
GERMANY
Dniepr River
Khar'kov
to New York
to Philadelphia
Breslau
Krakow
Ternopol
Lemberg (Lvov)
Ekaterinoslav
Taganrog
Mariupol'
Paris
Balta
Nikopol'
Melitopol'
Vienna
Kherson
Odessa
FRANCE
AUSTRIA - HUNGARY
Black Sea
ITALY
OTTOMAN
Madrid
Rome
Constantinople
Lisbon
SPAIN
EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea

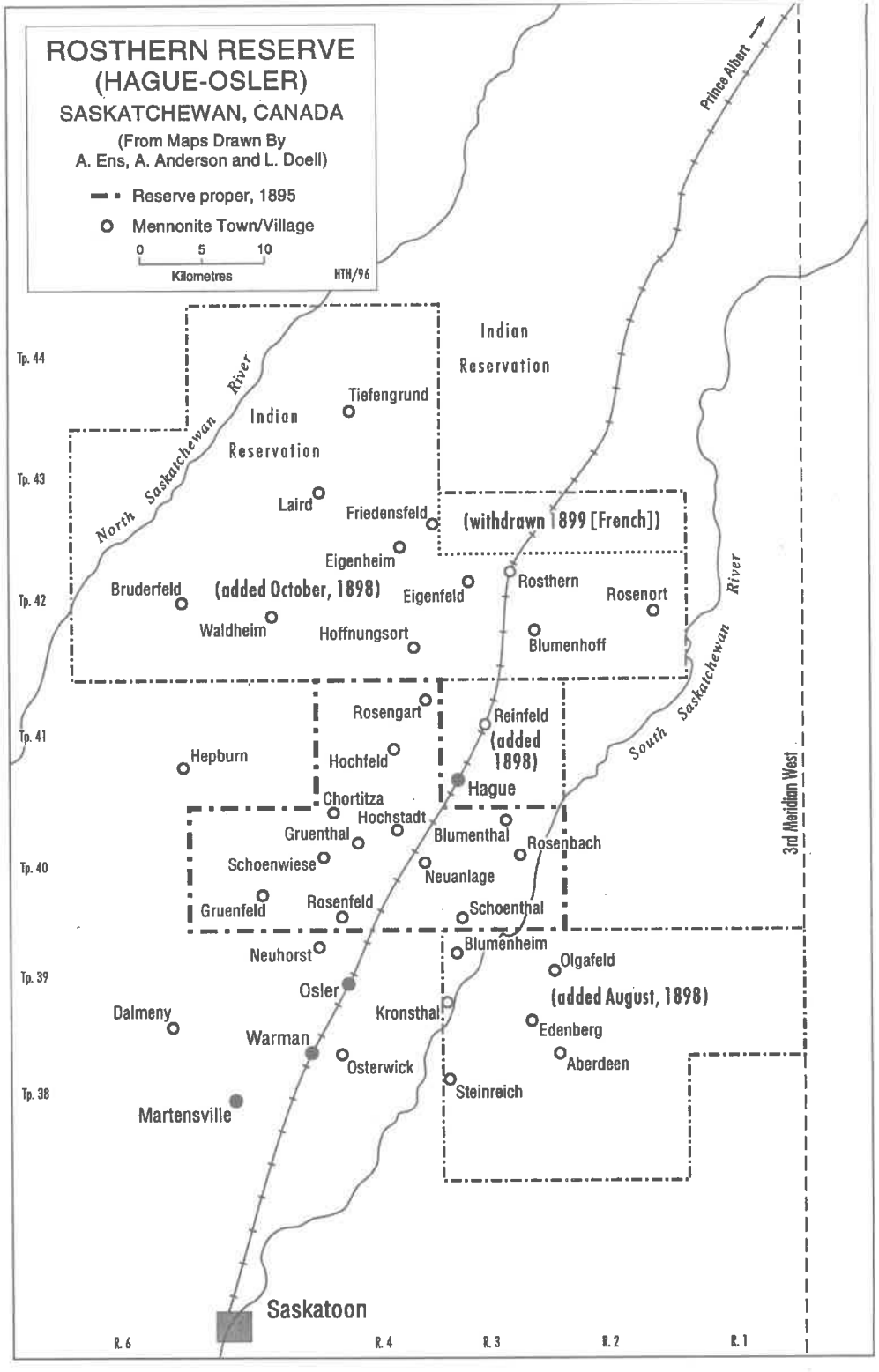

Atlantic
Ocean
Hudson
Bay
C A N A D A
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. John's
QUEBEC
Quebec
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Montreal
Winnipeg
MANITOBA
Landing Site
Sault Ste. Marie
ONTARIO
Collingwood
Fargo
Duluth
Moorhead
MINNESOTA
DAKOTA
TERRITORY
Toronto
U N I T E D S T A T E S
New York
MIGRATION TO MANITOBA 1874-1876
Route of Migration
Miles
0 200 400
0 200 400
Kilometres
WS/96

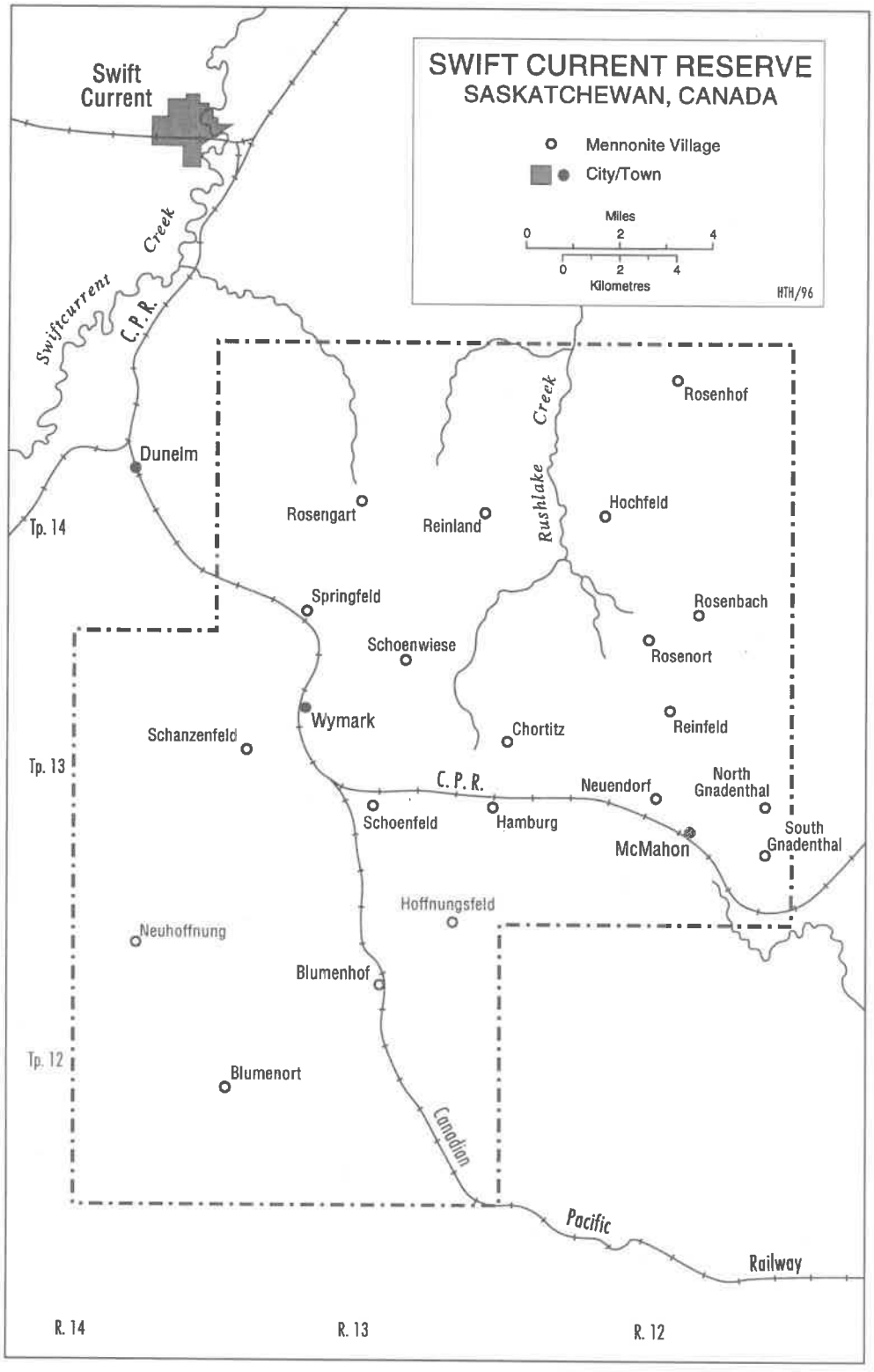

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN MANITOBA 1874-1878
Mennonite Settlement
Miles
0 10 20
0 10 20
Kilometres
WS/96
Winnipeg
Seine River
Scratching River
Landing Site
Red River
EAST RESERVE
SCRATCHING RIVER SETTLEMENT
Rat River
WEST RESERVE
Emerson
CANADA
UNITED STATES

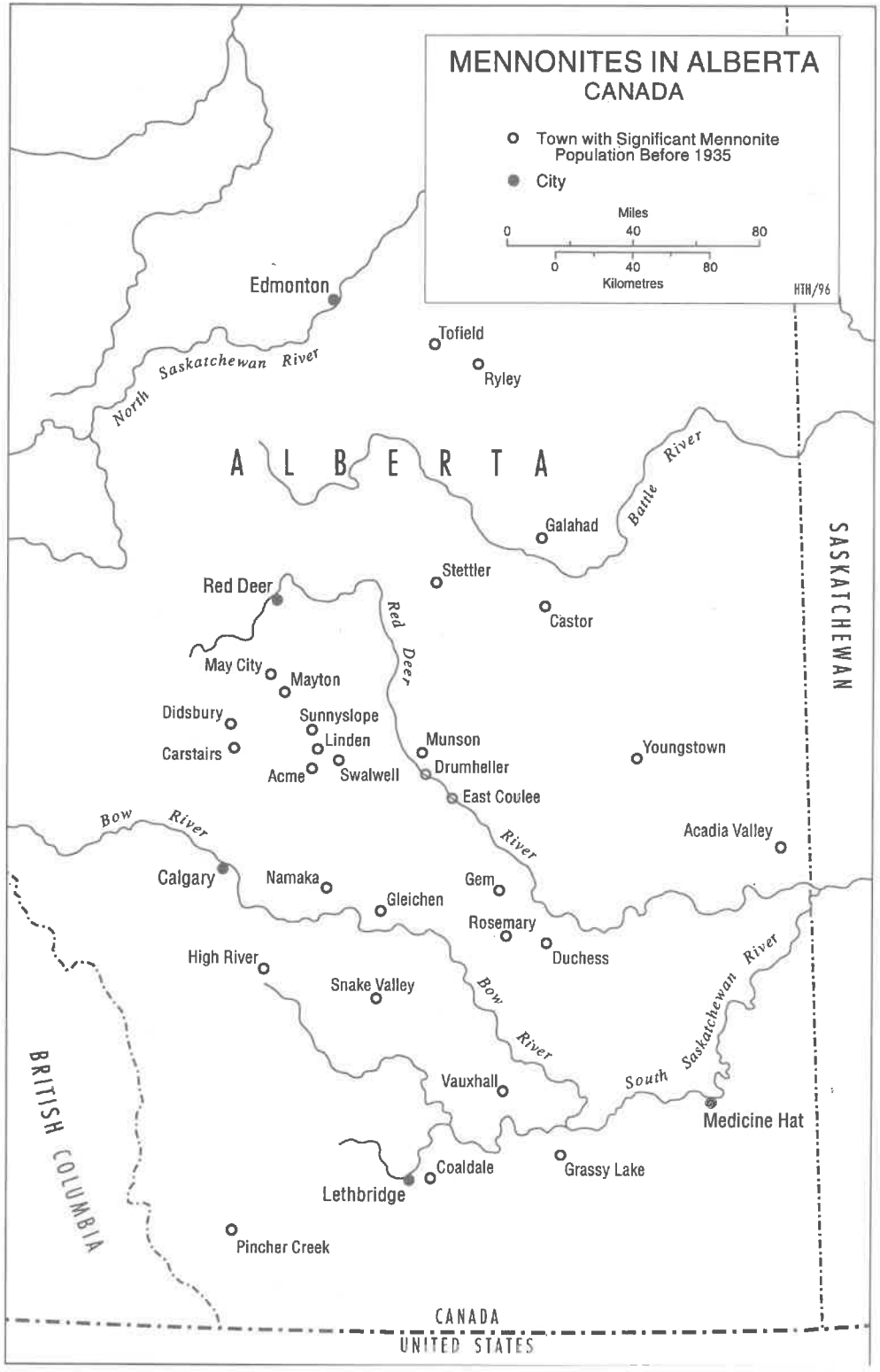

Winnipeg
Oak Island Settlement
Ste. Anne
Parish of Ste. Anne (French)
Seine River
R. 4E
R. 5E
R. 6E
Hespeler (Niverville) (1879)
Kronsthal
Blumengart
Osterwick
Hochfeld
Blumenhof
Schoenthal
Blumenort
Cemetery
Schanzenberg (Immigration Sheds)
Reinfeld
Bergthal
Tp. 7
Giroux
Clearspring Settlement (originally Scottish)
Pastwa
Schoenwiese
Chortitz
Rosenthal
Heuboden
Tannenau
Eigenhof
Ebenfeld
Gruenfeld (Kleefeld)
Vollwerk
Steinbach
Rosenfeld
Reichenbach
Otterburne
Schoenau
Schoenfeld
Rat River
Blumstein
Rosengart
Tp. 6
Friedrichsthal
Hochstadt
Burwalde
Carey
St. Pierre
Schoensee
Canadian Pacific Railway (1879)
Gruenthal
Gnadenfeld
Tp. 5
Joubert Creek
Hoffnungsfeld
Bergfeld
Kronsgart
Dufrost
Neubergfeld
Tp. 4
EAST RESERVE
MANITOBA, CANADA
Original Mennonie Village (many abandoned in a few years)
Neighbouring Town (most established after Mennonite Settlement)
Swamp
Railroad
Miles
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
Arnaud
Emerson

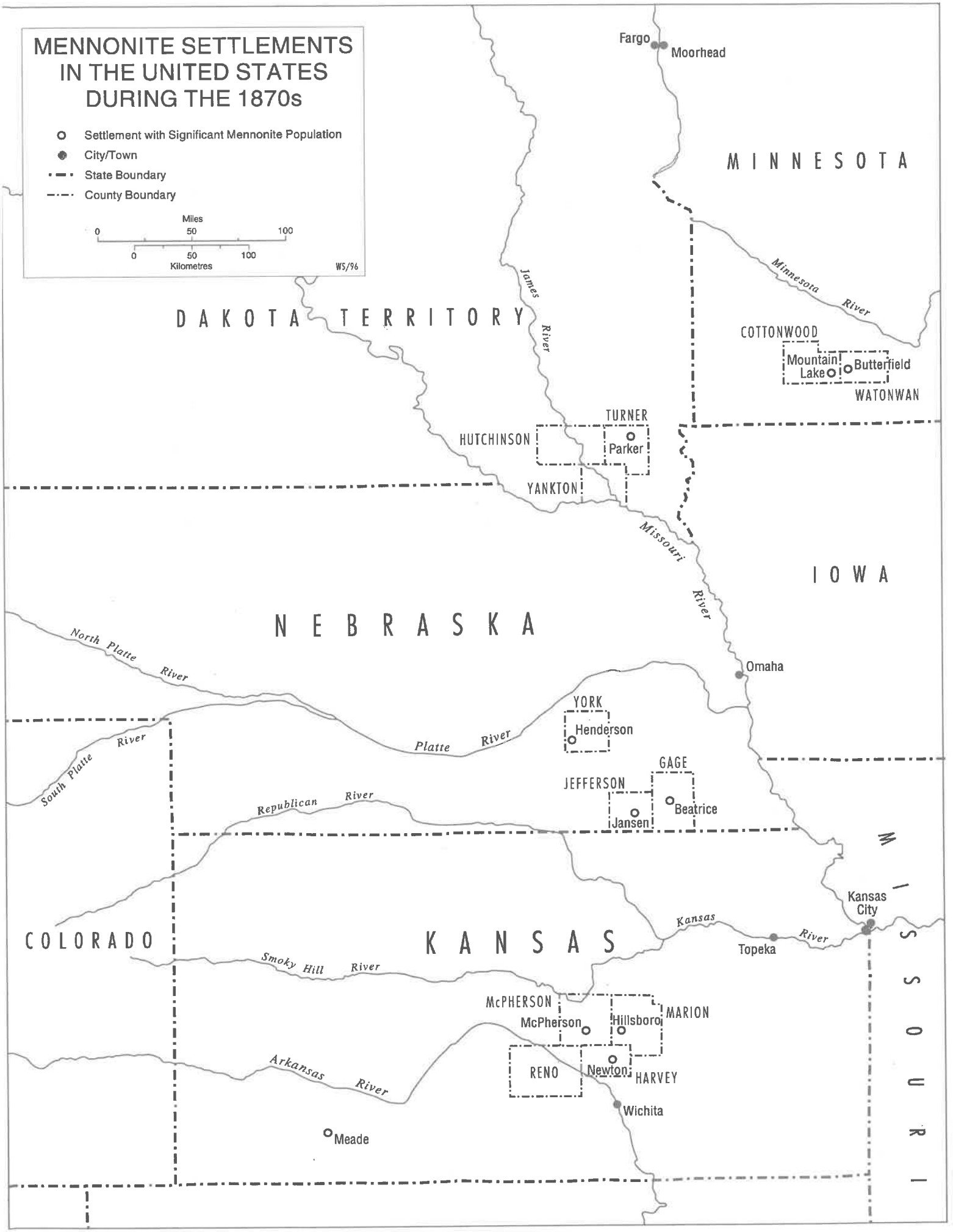

WEST RESERVE
MANITOBA, CANADA
Original Mennonite Village
Town Developing in the Area
Railroad
Post Road
International Boundary
Miles
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/96
NOTES:
• Some villages abandoned, but many still occupied today.
• A series of towns formed along the railroad soon after it was built in 1883. Original villages of Rosenfeld and Altona were moved to new site on railroad.
CANADA
Scratching R.
Morris
Red River
Canadian Pacific Railway (1883)
Burwalde (after 1883)
Morden (1882)
Schoenfeld (after 1883)
Winkler (1892)
Plum Coulee (1884)
Horndean
Rosenfeld (1883)
Tp. 3
Reinfeld
Schoendorf
Hoffnungsfeld
Kleefeld
Weidenfeld
Rosenfeld
Blumstein
Reinthal
Mountain City
Schanzenfeld
Kleinstadt
Blumengart
Tp. 2
Waldheim
Chortitz
Friedensruh
Schoenthal
Heuboden
Hochstadt
Schoenau
Rosenthal
Ebenfeld
Gnadenthal
Rudnerweide
Altona (1895)
Eigengrund
Pembina Hills
Lichtfeld
Altona
Osterwick
Neuenburg
Kronsgart
Altbergthal
Neuhoffnung
Neubergthal
Hochfeld
Gnadenfeld
Sommerfeld
Rosenort
Gruenthal
Silberfeld
Schoenwiese
Blumenfeld
Blumenhof
Tp. 1
Reinland
Schoenhorst
Neuendorf
Kronsthal
Gruenfeld
Rosengart
Neuanlage
Emerson
MANITOBA
Neuhorst
Blumenort
Gretna (1883)
Edenburg
Halbstadt
R. 6W
NORTH DAKOTA
R. 4W
R. 3W
R. 2W
R. 1W
R. 1E
UNITED STATES
Pembina River
Pembina River

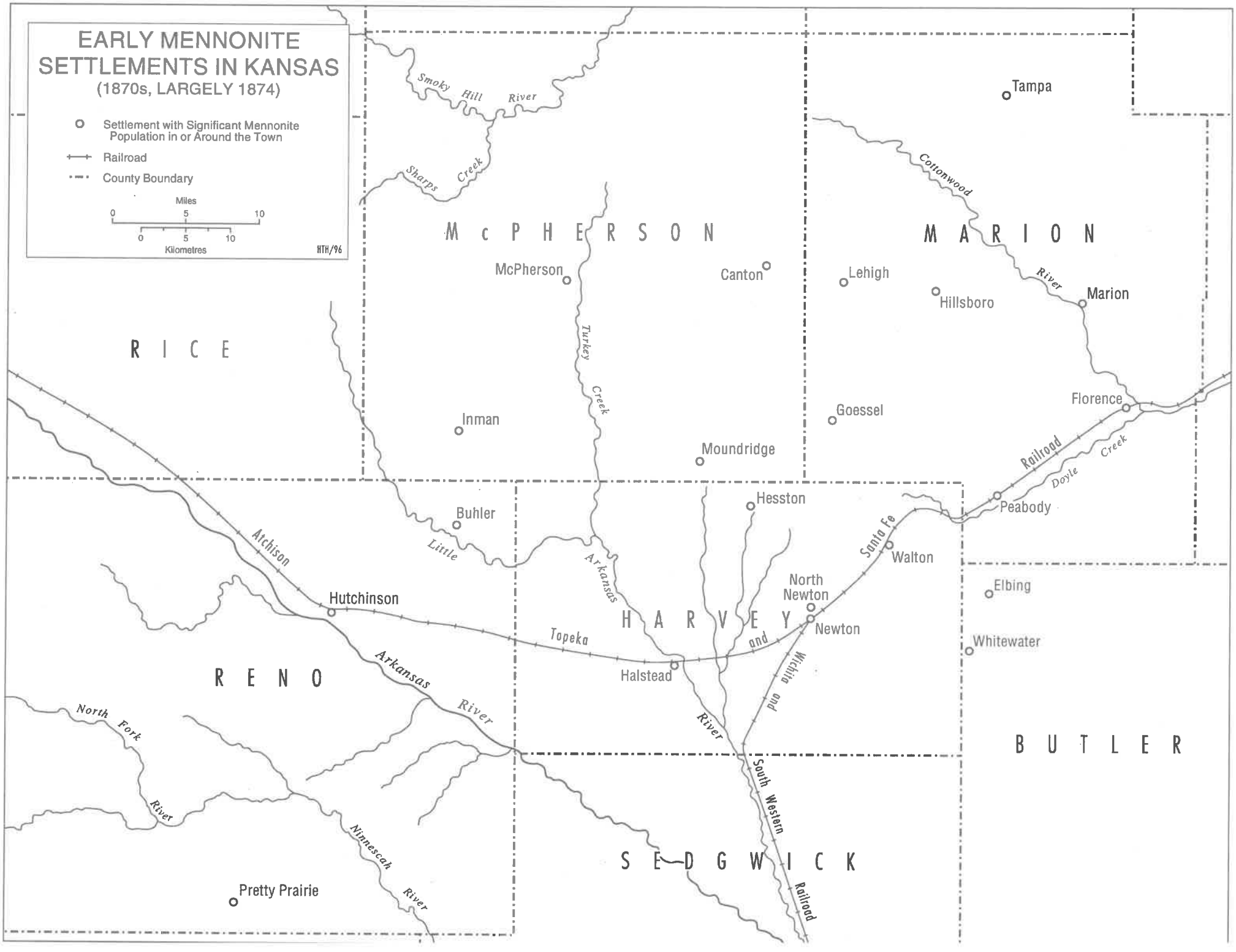

SASKATCHEWAN
MENNONITE RESERVES
Mennonite Reserve
Railroad
Towns around Reserves settled mainly by Mennonites
0 25 50
Kilometres
WS/96
Prince Albert
CARROT RIVER RESERVE
North Battleford
North Saskatchewan River
Laird
Waldheim
Rosthern
Hepburn
Hague
ROSTHERN RESERVE
(Hague-Osler)
Borden
Osler
Langham
Dalmeny
Aberdeen
Saskatoon
Guernsey
Drake
South Saskatchewan River
Turnhill
Main Centre
Herbert
Swift Current
Greenfarm
Moose Jaw
Regina
Kelstern
Flowing Well
SWIFT CURRENT RESERVE
Woodrow


ROSTHERN RESERVE
(HAGUE-OSLER)
SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA
(From Maps Drawn By
A. Ens, A. Anderson and L. Doell)
Reserve proper, 1895
Mennonite Town/Village
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96
Prince Albert
Indian Reservation
Tp. 44
Tiefengrund
Indian Reservation
North Saskatchewan River
Tp. 43
Laird
Friedensfeld
(withdrawn 1899 [French])
Eigenheim
Bruderfeld
(added October, 1898)
Eigenfeld
Rosthern
Rosenort
Tp. 42
Waldheim
Hoffnungsort
Blumenhoff
South Saskatchewan River
Rosengart
Reinfeld
(added 1898)
Tp. 41
Hepburn
Hochfeld
Hague
Chortitza
Hochstadt
Gruenthal
Blumenthal
Rosenbach
Tp. 40
Schoenwiese
Neuanlage
Gruenfeld
Rosenfeld
Schoenthal
Blumenheim
Neuhorst
Olgafeld
Tp. 39
Osler
(added August, 1898)
Dalmeny
Kronsthal
Edenberg
Warman
Osterwick
Aberdeen
Tp. 38
Steinreich
Martensville
Saskatoon
3rd Meridian West
R. 6
R. 4
R. 3
R. 2
R. 1

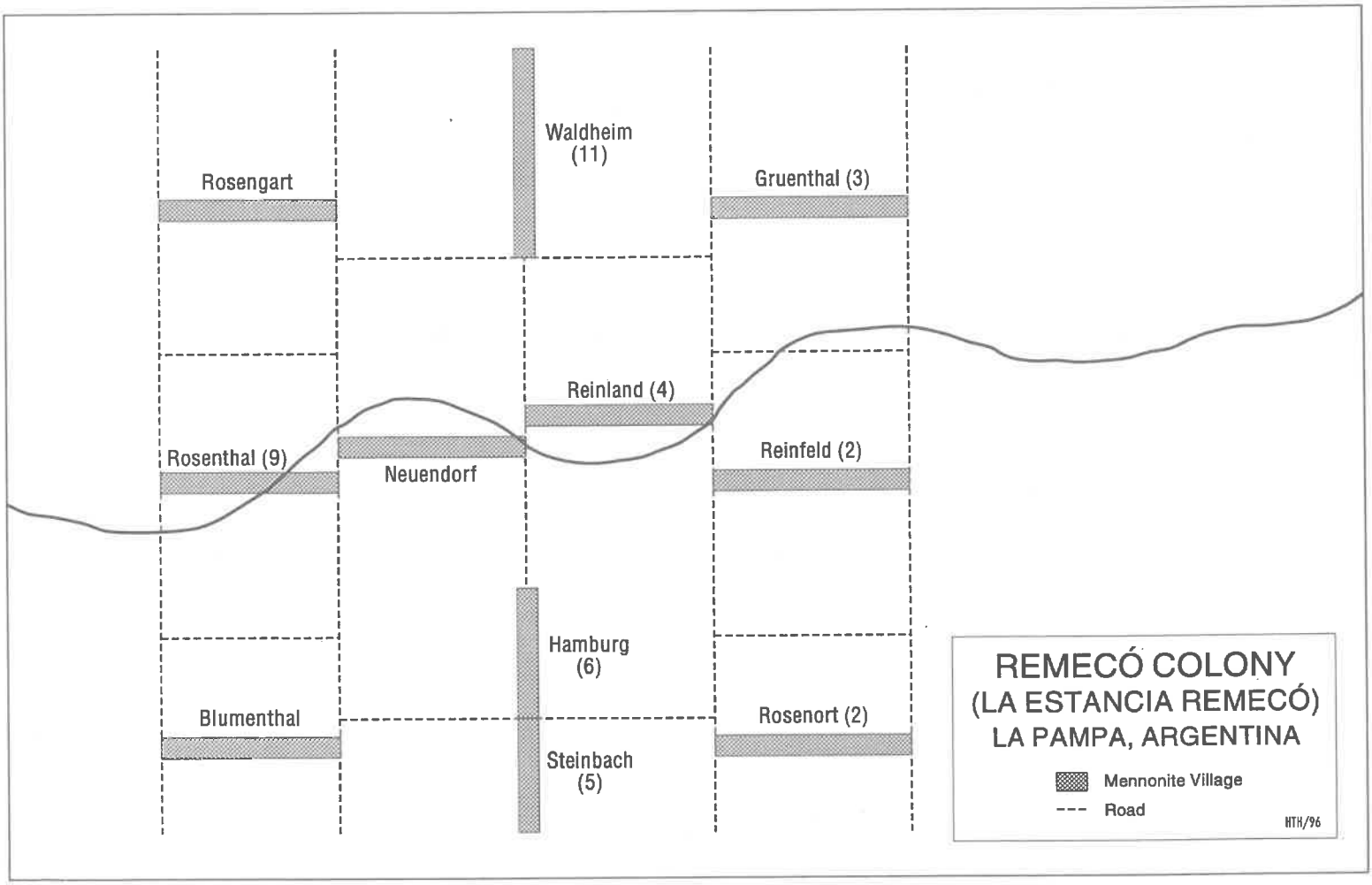

SWIFT CURRENT RESERVE
SASKATCHEWAN, CANADA
Mennonite Village
City/Town
Miles
0 2 4
0 2 4
Kilometres
HTH/96
Swift Current
Swiftcurrent Creek
C.P.R.
Dunelm
Tp. 14
Rosengart
Reinland
Rushlake Creek
Hochfeld
Rosenhof
Springfeld
Rosenbach
Schoenwiese
Rosenort
Wymark
Chortitz
Reinfeld
Schanzenfeld
Tp. 13
C.P.R.
Neuendorf
North Gnadenthal
Schoenfeld
Hamburg
McMahon
South Gnadenthal
Hoffnungsfeld
Neuhoffnung
Blumenhof
Tp. 12
Blumenort
Canadian Pacific Railway
R. 14
R. 13
R. 12

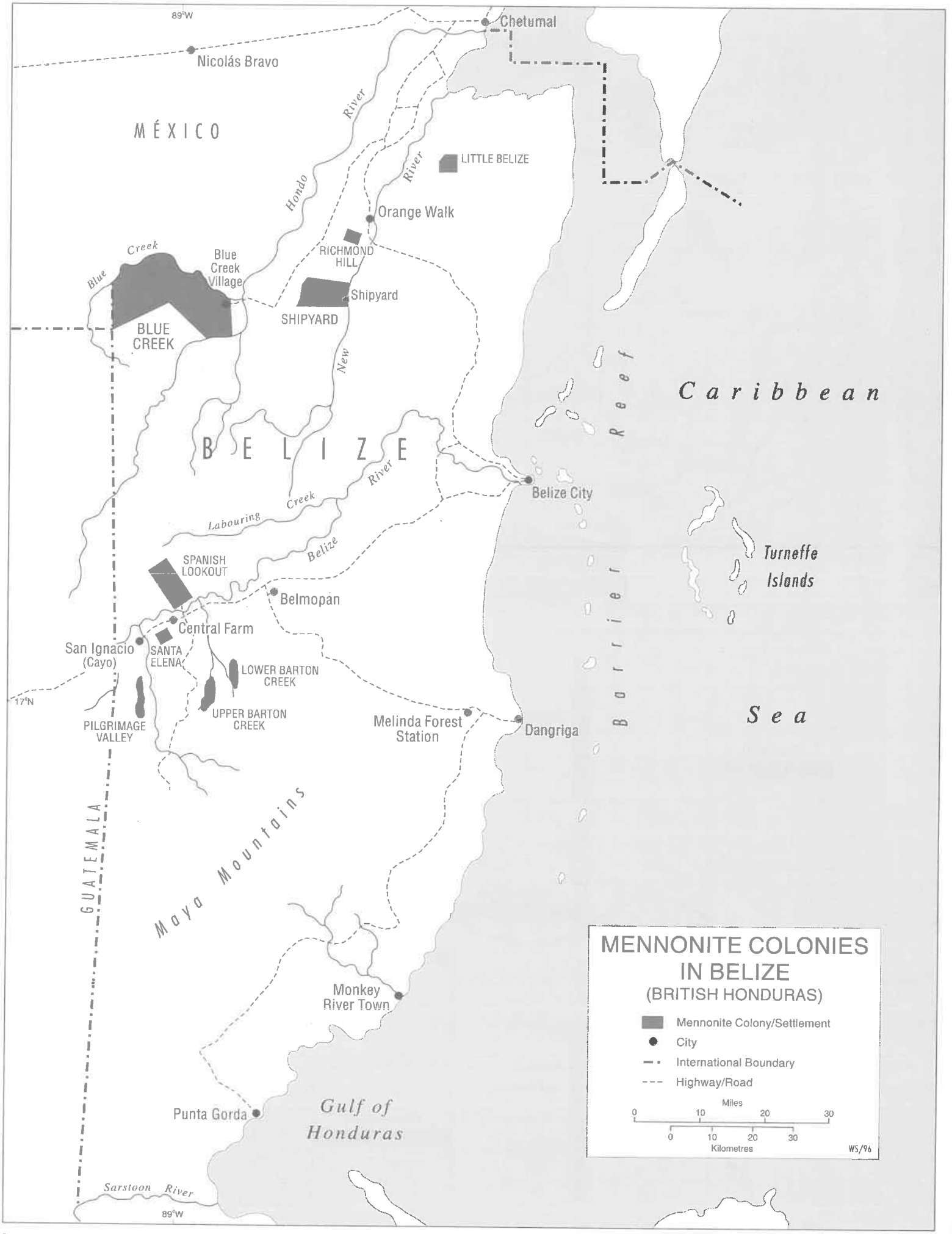

MENNONITES IN ALBERTA
CANADA
Town with Significant Mennonite Population Before 1935
City
Miles
0 40 80
0 40 80
Kilometres
HTH/96
Edmonton
Tofield
Ryley
North Saskatchewan River
ALBERTA
Battle River
SASKATCHEWAN
Galahad
Stettler
Red Deer
Castor
Red Deer River
May City
Mayton
Didsbury
Sunnyslope
Linden
Carstairs
Acme
Swalwell
Munson
Drumheller
Youngstown
East Coulee
Bow River
Acadia Valley
Calgary
Namaka
Gleichen
Gem
Rosemary
Duchess
High River
Snake Valley
Bow River
South Saskatchewan River
Vauxhall
Medicine Hat
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Coaldale
Grassy Lake
Lethbridge
Pincher Creek
CANADA
UNITED STATES

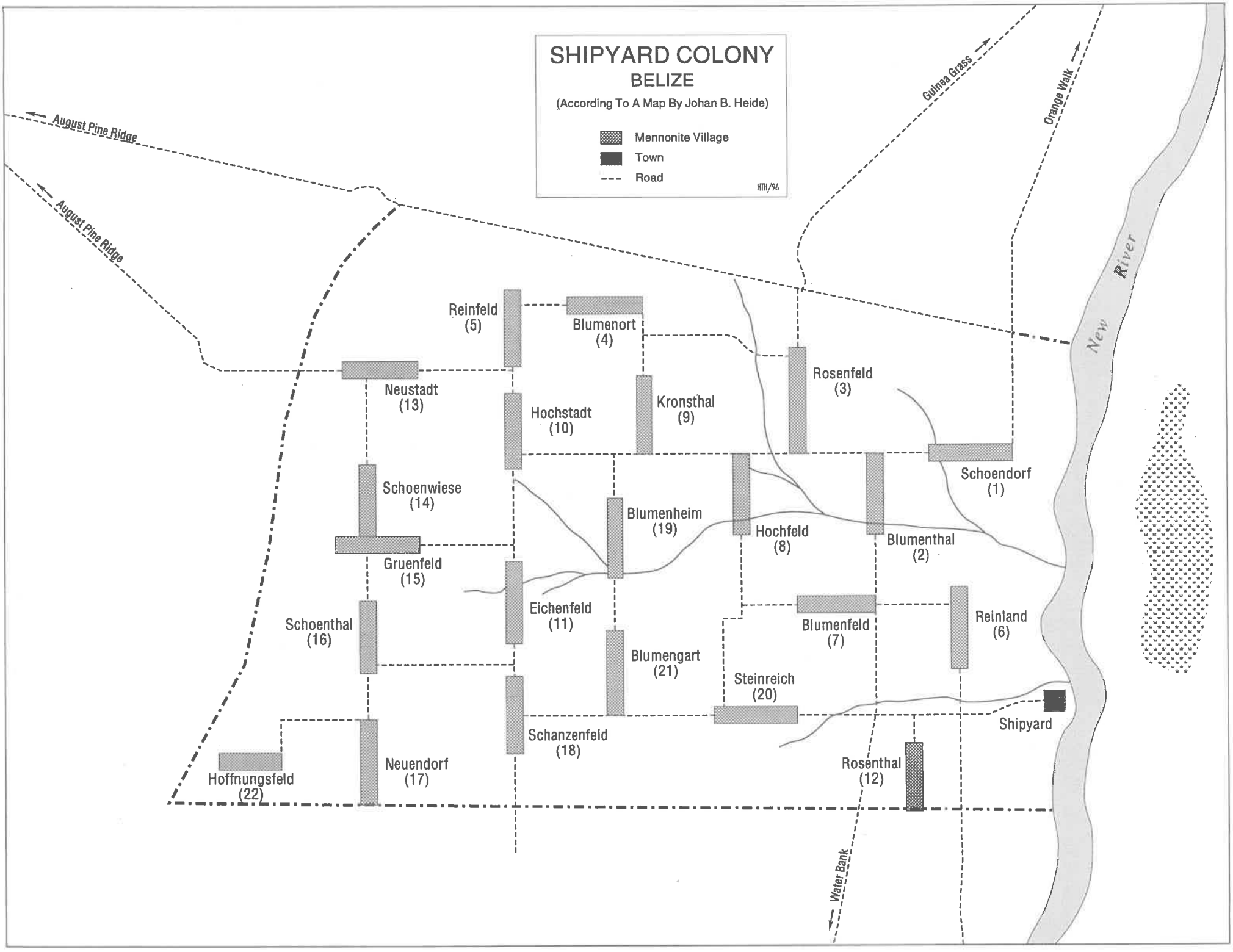

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE 1870s
Settlement with Significant Mennonite Population
City/Town
State Boundary
County Boundary
Miles
0
50
100
0
50
100
Kilometres
WS/96
Fargo
Moorhead
MINNESOTA
James River
Minnesota River
DAKOTA TERRITORY
COTTONWOOD
Mountain Lake
Butterfield
WATONWAN
TURNER
HUTCHINSON
Parker
YANKTON
Missouri River
IOWA
NEBRASKA
North Platte River
Omaha
YORK
Henderson
Platte River
South Platte River
GAGE
JEFFERSON
Beatrice
Jansen
Republican River
Kansas City
COLORADO
KANSAS
Kansas River
Topeka
Smoky Hill River
McPHERSON
McPherson
Hillsboro
MARION
RENO
Newton
HARVEY
Arkansas River
Wichita
Meade
MISSOURI

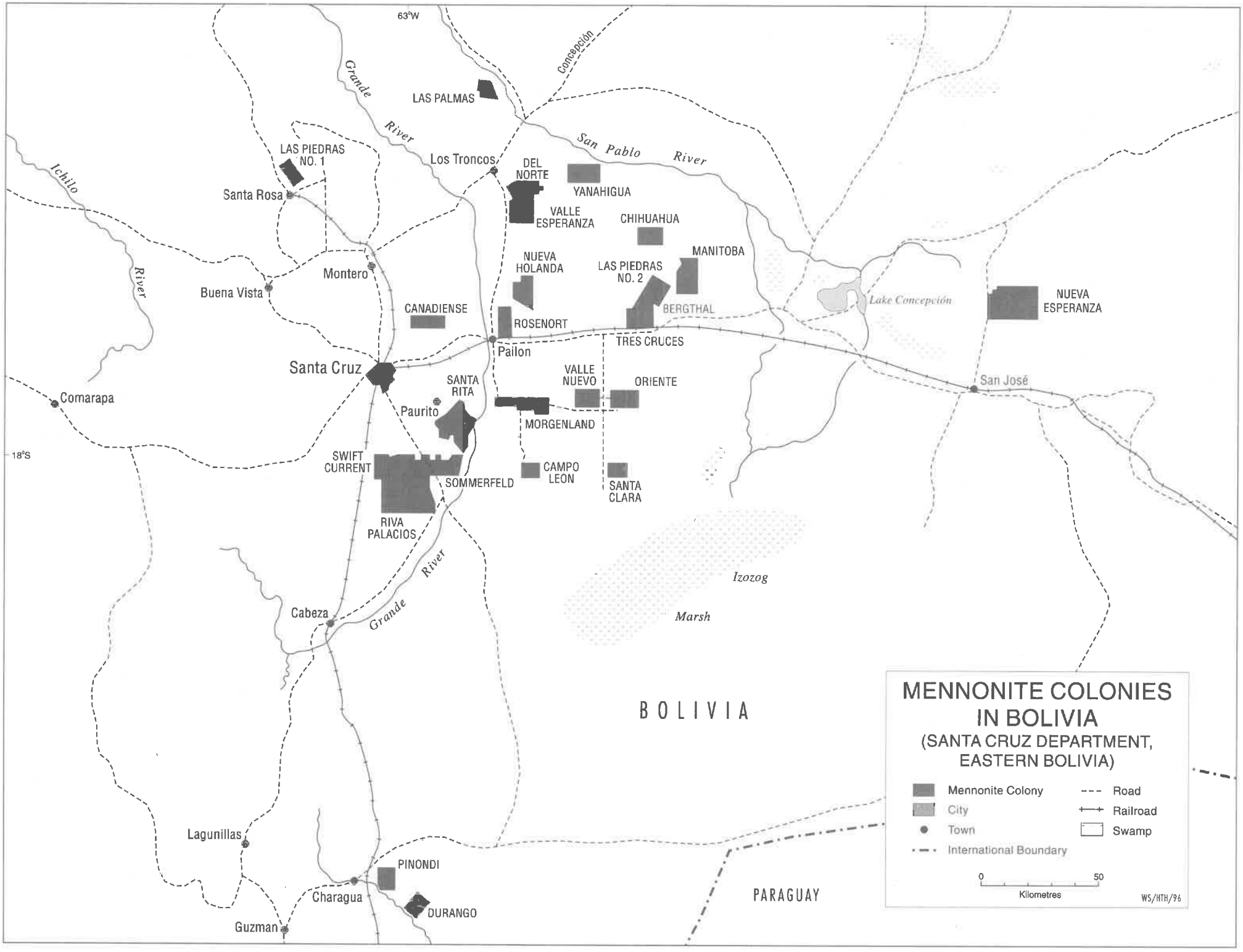

EARLY MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN KANSAS
(1870s, LARGELY 1874)
Settlement with Significant Mennonite Population in or Around the Town
Railroad
County Boundary
Miles
0 5 10
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96
Smoky Hill River
Sharps Creek
McPHERSON
MARION
McPherson
Canton
Lehigh
Hillsboro
Marion
Tampa
Cottonwood River
RICE
Turkey Creek
Inman
Moundridge
Goessel
Florence
Railroad
Doyle Creek
Peabody
Buhler
Little Arkansas
Hesston
Santa Fe
Walton
Elbing
Atchison
Hutchinson
HARVEY
North Newton
Newton
Topeka and Wichita and
Whitewater
Halstead
Arkansas River
RENO
North Fork River
Ninnescah River
South Western Railroad
BUTLER
SEDGWICK
Pretty Prairie

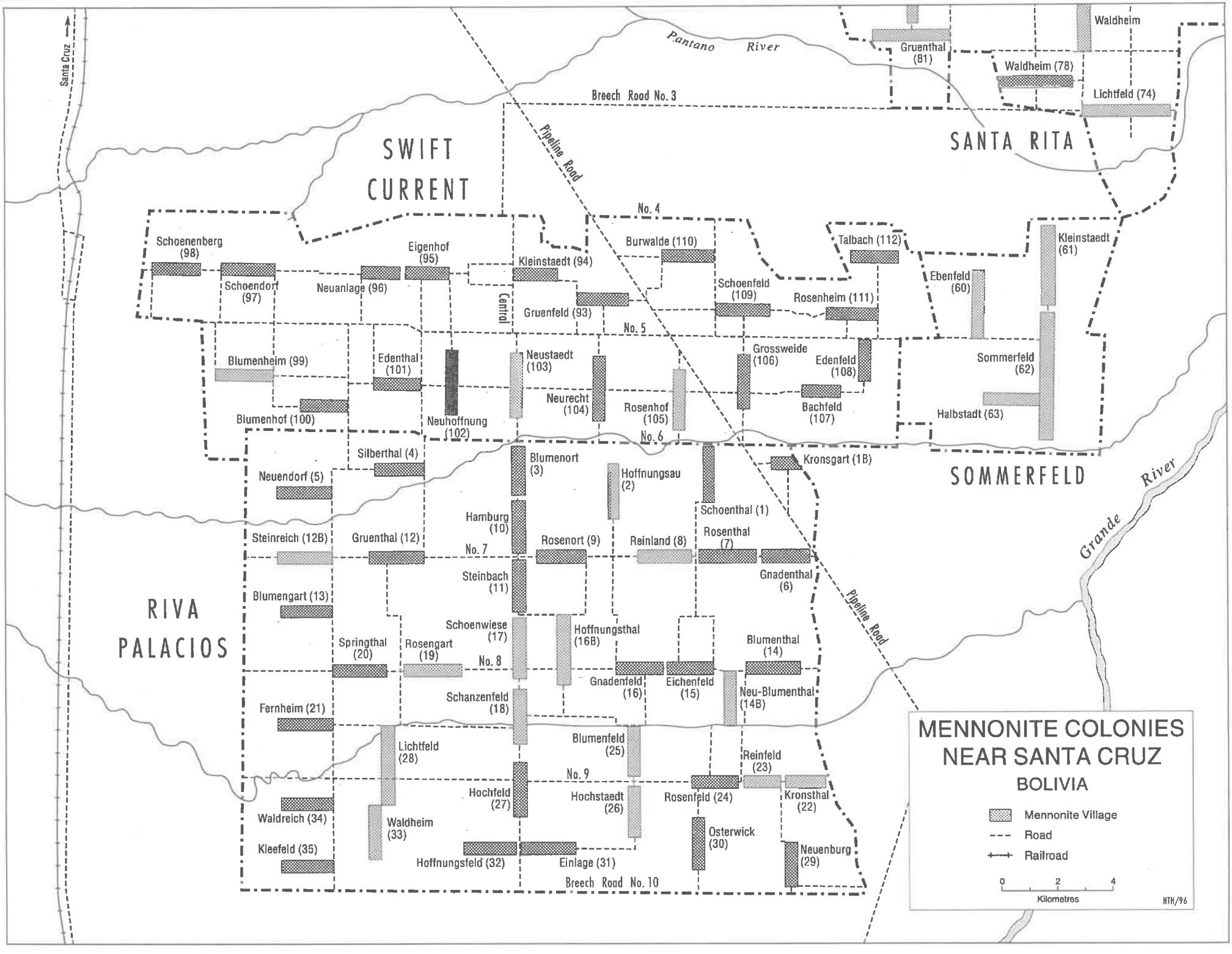
Pacific Ocean
CHILE
Gran Chaco
PARAGUAY
BRAZIL
São Paulo
Curitiba
Pampa de los Guanacos
DURANGO
Asunción
Paraguay River
Paraná River
San Miguel de Tucumán
Resistencia
Corrientes
Santiago del Estero
Uruguay River
Porto Alegre
Paraná River
Cosquin
Cordoba
URUGUAY
Salado River
Rosario
Santiago
ARGENTINA
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
Río de la Plata
Pehuajó
Bragado
Santa Rosa
REMECÓ
Bahia Blanca
Colorado River
Atlantic Ocean
MENNONITES IN ARGENTINA
City with Mennonite Inhabitants
Mennonite Colony
0 200 400
Kilometres
MTH/96

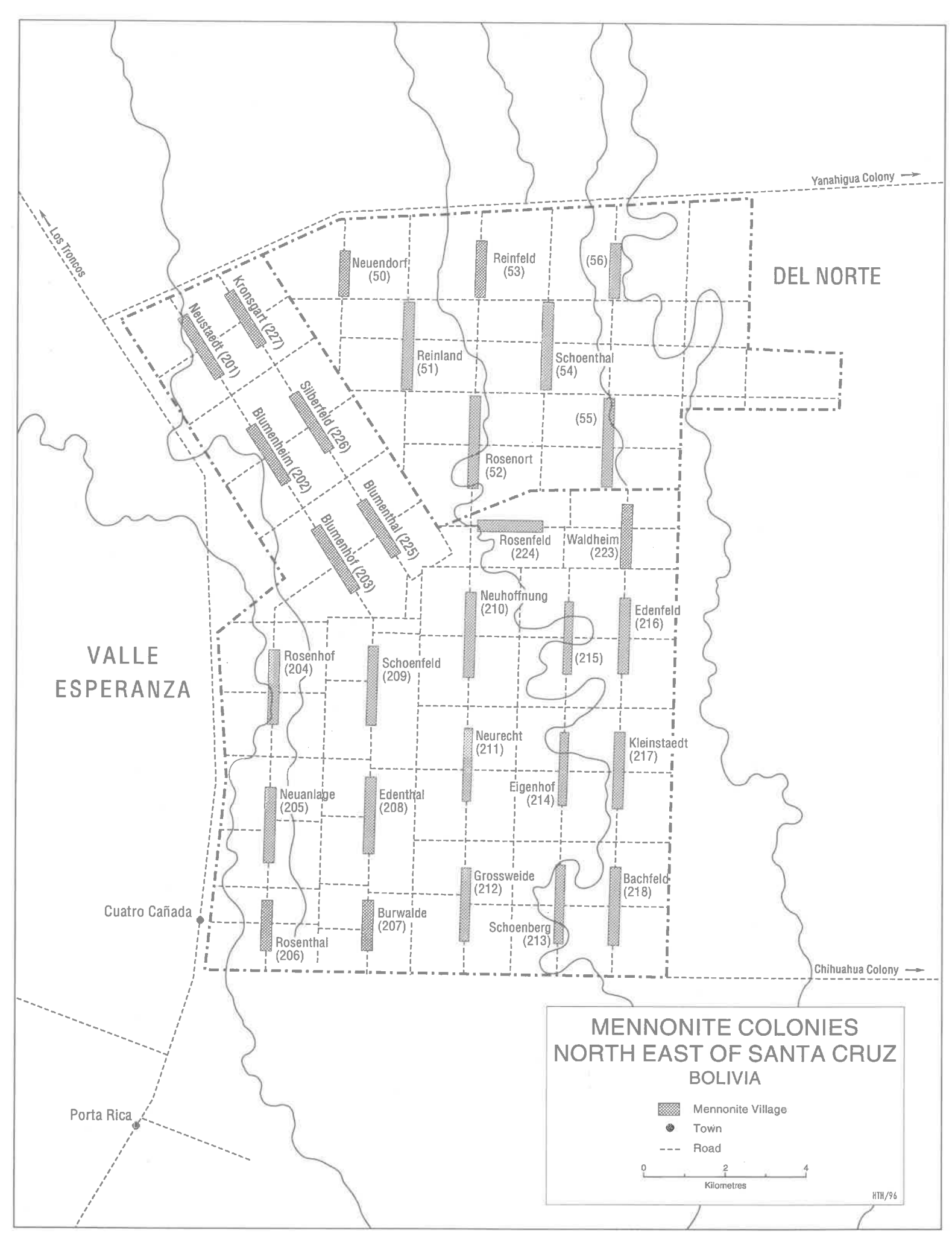

Waldheim (11)
Rosengart
Gruenthal (3)
Reinland (4)
Rosenthal (9)
Neuendorf
Reinfeld (2)
Hamburg (6)
Blumenthal
Rosenort (2)
Steinbach (5)
REMECÓ COLONY
(LA ESTANCIA REMECÓ)
LA PAMPA, ARGENTINA
Mennonite Village
Road
MTH/96

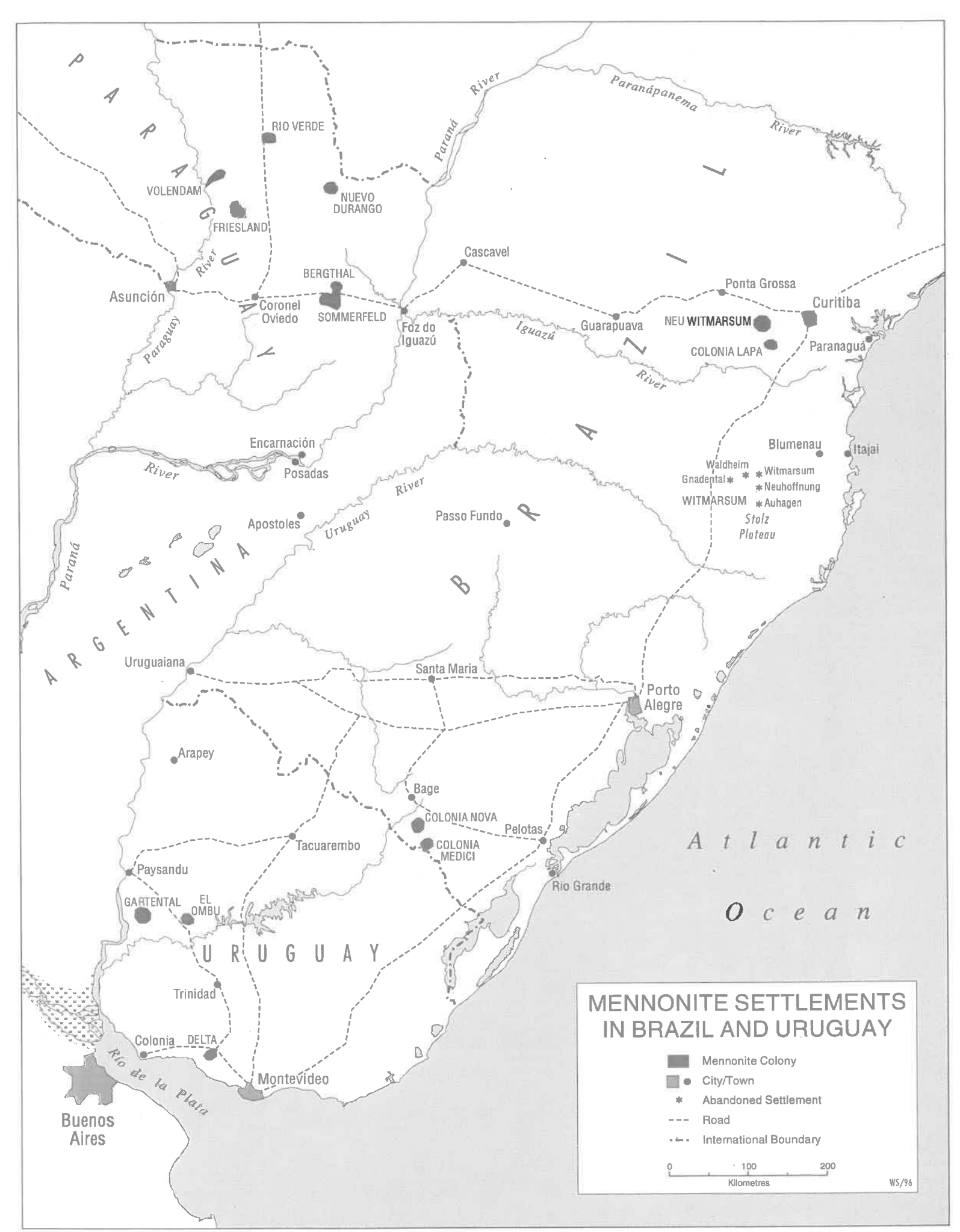

89°W
Chetumal
Nicolás Bravo
MÉXICO
Hondo River
LITTLE BELIZE
New River
Orange Walk
RICHMOND HILL
Blue Creek
Blue Creek Village
Shipyard
SHIPYARD
BLUE CREEK
New River
Caribbean
Reef
BELIZE
Belize City
Labouring Creek
Belize River
Barrier
Turneffe Islands
SPANISH LOOKOUT
Belmopán
Central Farm
San Ignacio (Cayo)
SANTA ELENA
LOWER BARTON CREEK
17°N
PILGRIMAGE VALLEY
UPPER BARTON CREEK
Melinda Forest Station
Dangriga
Sea
GUATEMALA
Maya Mountains
Monkey River Town
Punta Gorda
Gulf of Honduras
Sarstoon River
89°W
MENNONITE COLONIES IN BELIZE
(BRITISH HONDURAS)
Mennonite Colony/Settlement
City
International Boundary
Highway/Road
Miles
0 10 20 30
0 10 20 30
Kilometres
WS/96


SHIPYARD COLONY
BELIZE
(According To A Map By Johan B. Heide)
Mennonite Village
Town
Road
HTH/96
August Pine Ridge
August Pine Ridge
Guinea Grass
Orange Walk
New River
Reinfeld (5)
Blumenort (4)
Neustadt (13)
Hochstadt (10)
Kronsthal (9)
Rosenfeld (3)
Schoendorf (1)
Schoenwiese (14)
Blumenheim (19)
Hochfeld (8)
Blumenthal (2)
Gruenfeld (15)
Eichenfeld (11)
Schoenthal (16)
Blumengart (21)
Blumenfeld (7)
Reinland (6)
Steinreich (20)
Shipyard
Schanzenfeld (18)
Hoffnungsfeld (22)
Neuendorf (17)
Rosenthal (12)
Water Bank

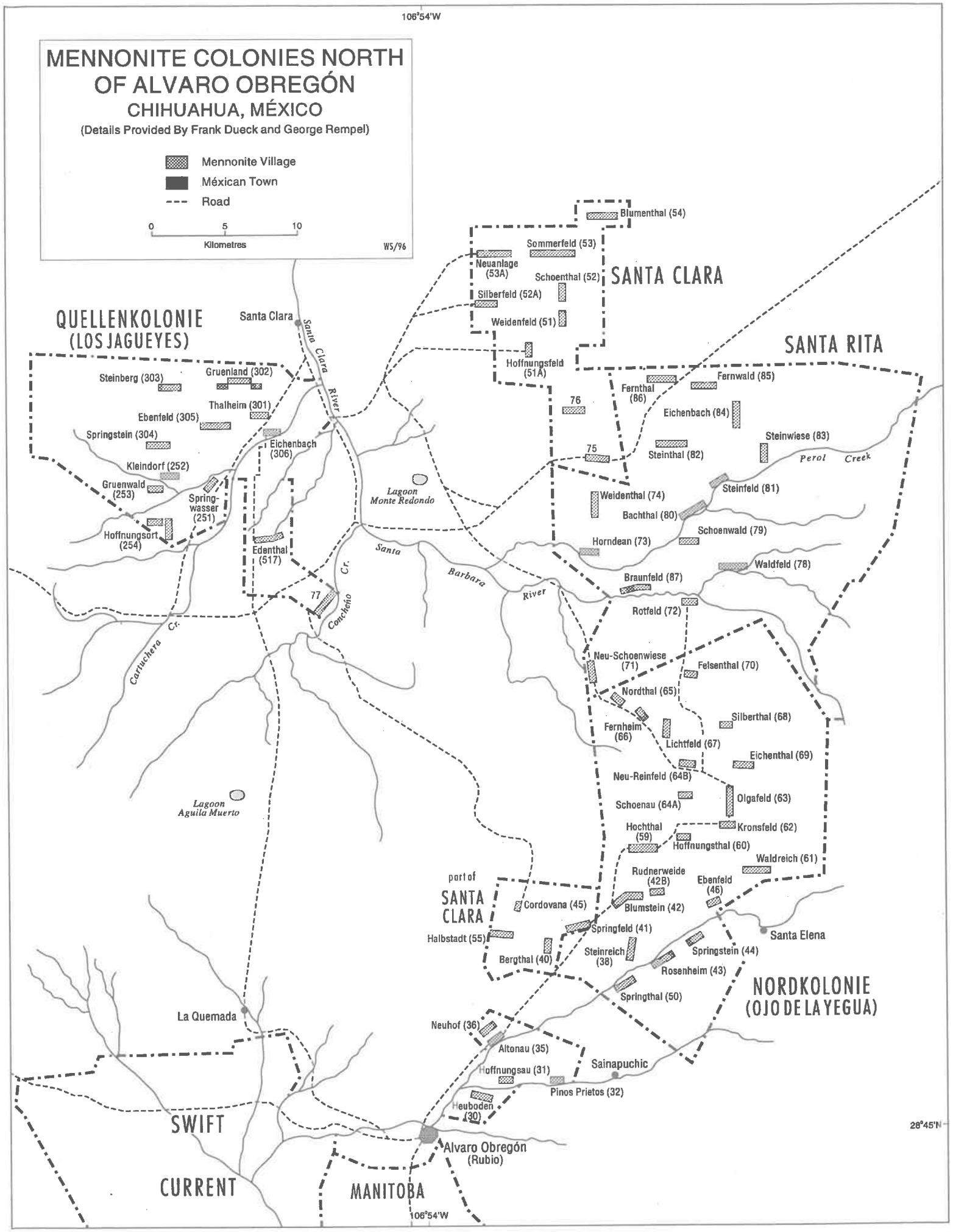

63°W
Concepción
Grande River
LAS PALMAS
LAS PIEDRAS NO. 1
Ichilo River
Santa Rosa
Los Troncos
San Pablo River
DEL NORTE
YANAHIGUA
VALLE ESPERANZA
CHIHUAHUA
MANITOBA
NUEVA HOLANDA
LAS PIEDRAS NO. 2
Montero
Buena Vista
CANADIENSE
ROSENORT
BERGTHAL
Lake Concepción
NUEVA ESPERANZA
TRES CRUCES
Pailon
Santa Cruz
VALLE NUEVO
ORIENTE
SANTA RITA
San José
Comarapa
Paurito
MORGENLAND
18°S
SWIFT CURRENT
CAMPO LEON
SOMMERFELD
SANTA CLARA
RIVA PALACIOS
Izozog
Marsh
Cabeza
Grande River
BOLIVIA
Lagunillas
PINONDI
Charagua
DURANGO
Guzman
PARAGUAY
MENNONITE COLONIES IN BOLIVIA
(SANTA CRUZ DEPARTMENT, EASTERN BOLIVIA)
Mennonite Colony
City
Town
International Boundary
Road
Railroad
Swamp
0
50
Kilometres
WS/HTH/96

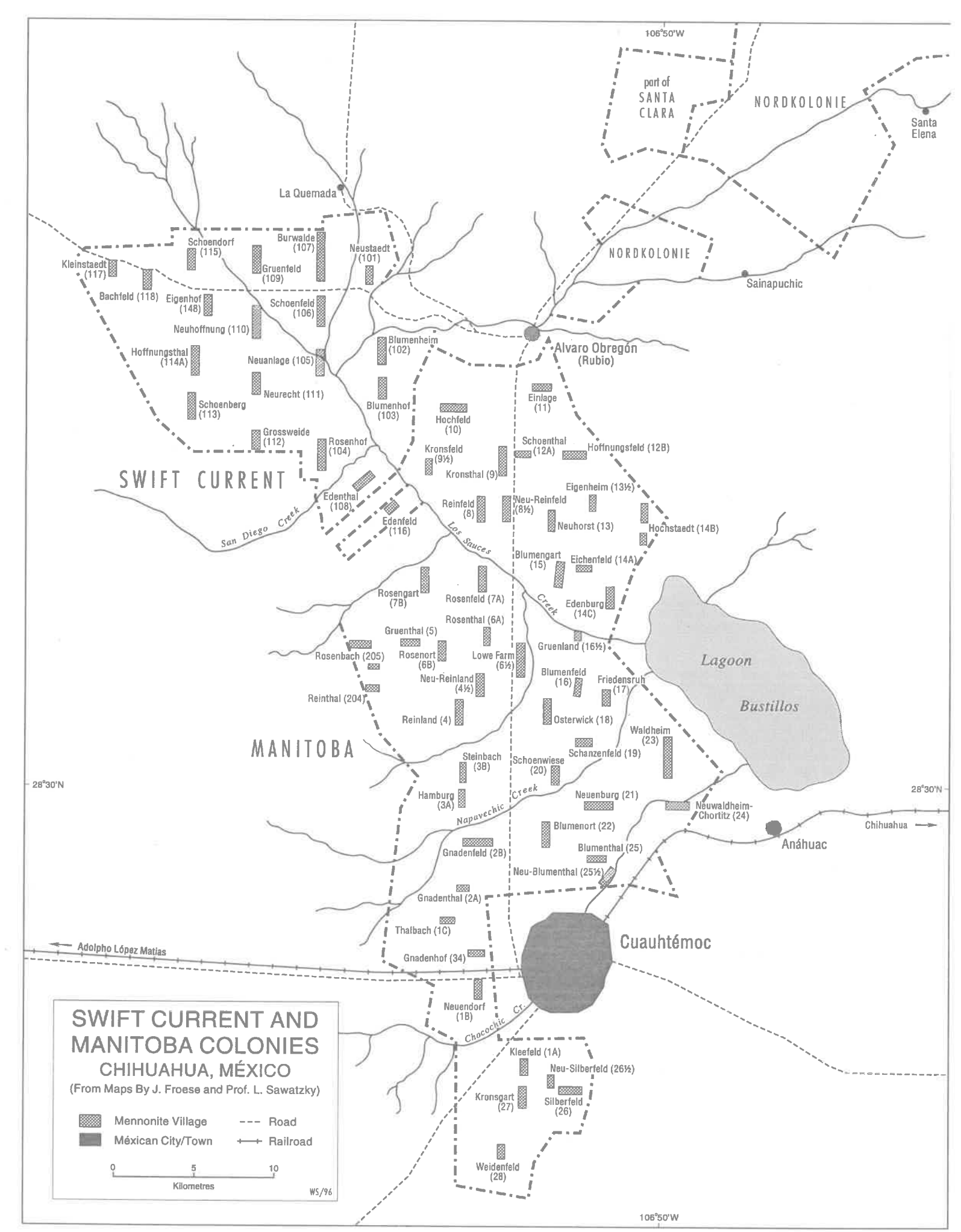

Santa Cruz
Pantano River
Waldheim
Gruenthal (81)
Waldheim (78)
Lichtfeld (74)
Breech Road No. 3
SANTA RITA
SWIFT CURRENT
Pipeline Road
No. 4
Schoenenberg (98)
Eigenhof (95)
Kleinstaedt (94)
Burwalde (110)
Talbach (112)
Kleinstaedt (61)
Schoendorf (97)
Neuanlage (96)
Central
Gruenfeld (93)
Schoenfeld (109)
Rosenheim (111)
Ebenfeld (60)
No. 5
Blumenheim (99)
Edenthal (101)
Neustaedt (103)
Grossweide (106)
Edenfeld (108)
Sommerfeld (62)
Neurecht (104)
Rosenhof (105)
Bachfeld (107)
Blumenhof (100)
Neuhoffnung (102)
Halbstadt (63)
No. 6
Silberthal (4)
Blumenort (3)
Kronsgart (1B)
Hoffnungsau (2)
SOMMERFELD
Neuendorf (5)
Schoenthal (1)
Grande River
Hamburg (10)
Steinreich (12B)
Gruenthal (12)
No. 7
Rosenort (9)
Reinland (8)
Rosenthal (7)
Gnadenthal (6)
Steinbach (11)
Blumengart (13)
RIVA PALACIOS
Schoenwiese (17)
Hoffnungsthal (16B)
Springthal (20)
Rosengart (19)
No. 8
Blumenthal (14)
Gnadenfeld (16)
Eichenfeld (15)
Neu-Blumenthal (14B)
Schanzenfeld (18)
Fernheim (21)
Lichtfeld (28)
Blumenfeld (25)
Reinfeld (23)
No. 9
Hochfeld (27)
Hochstaedt (26)
Rosenfeld (24)
Kronsthal (22)
Waldreich (34)
Waldheim (33)
Osterwick (30)
Kleefeld (35)
Neuenburg (29)
Hoffnungsfeld (32)
Einlage (31)
Breech Road No. 10
MENNONITE COLONIES NEAR SANTA CRUZ
BOLIVIA
Mennonite Village
Road
Railroad
0 2 4
Kilometres
HTH/96

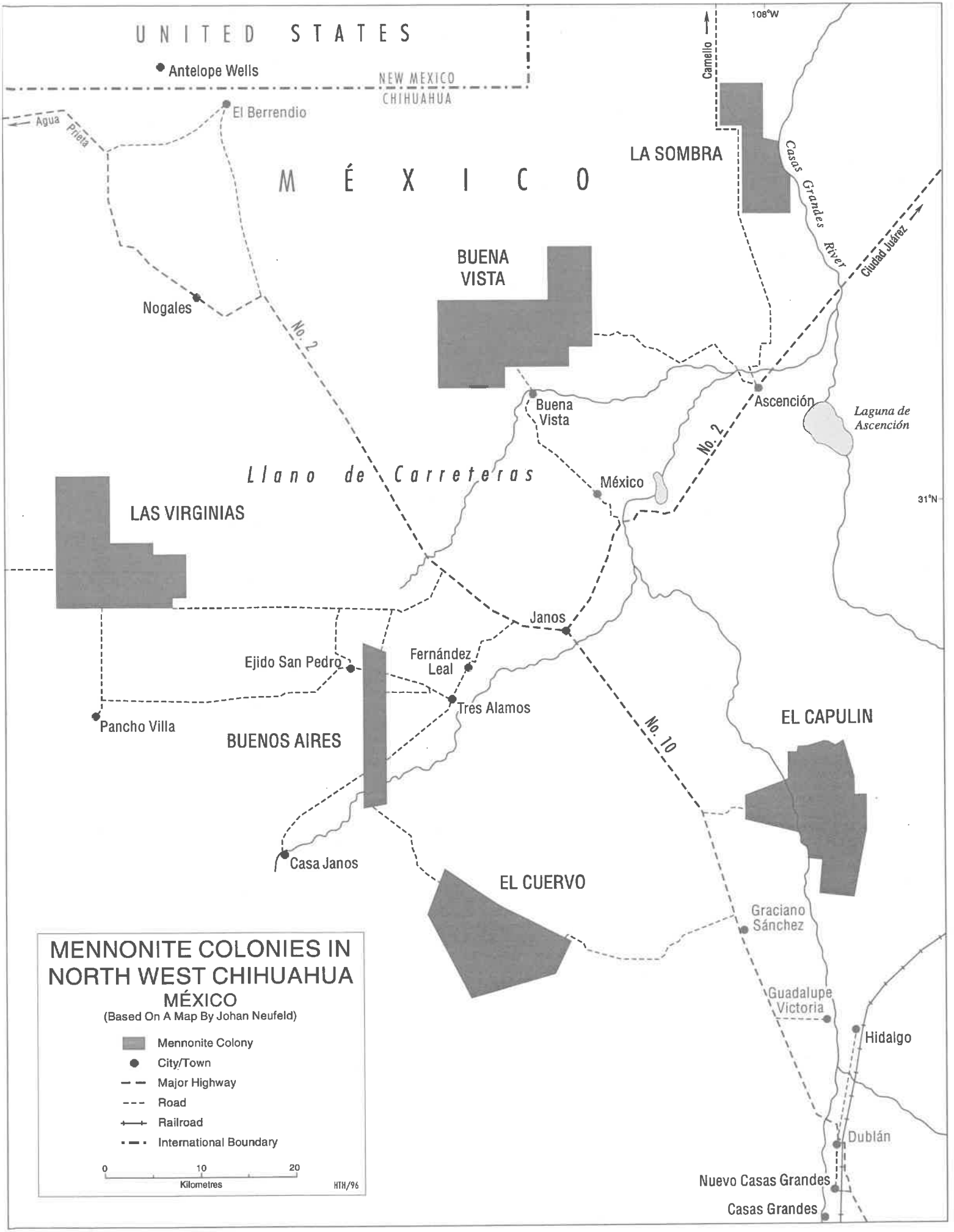

Yanahigua Colony
Los Troncos
DEL NORTE
VALLE ESPERANZA
Neuendorf (50)
Reinfeld (53)
(56)
Kronsgart (227)
Neustaedt (201)
Reinland (51)
Schoenthal (54)
Silberfeld (226)
Blumenheim (202)
(55)
Rosenort (52)
Blumenthal (225)
Blumenhof (203)
Rosenfeld (224)
Waldheim (223)
Neuhoffnung (210)
Edenfeld (216)
Rosenhof (204)
Schoenfeld (209)
(215)
Neurecht (211)
Kleinstaedt (217)
Neuanlage (205)
Edenthal (208)
Eigenhof (214)
Grossweide (212)
Bachfeld (218)
Cuatro Cañada
Burwalde (207)
Schoenberg (213)
Rosenthal (206)
Chihuahua Colony
Porta Rica
MENNONITE COLONIES
NORTH EAST OF SANTA CRUZ
BOLIVIA
Mennonite Village
Town
Road
0
2
4
Kilometres
HTH/96

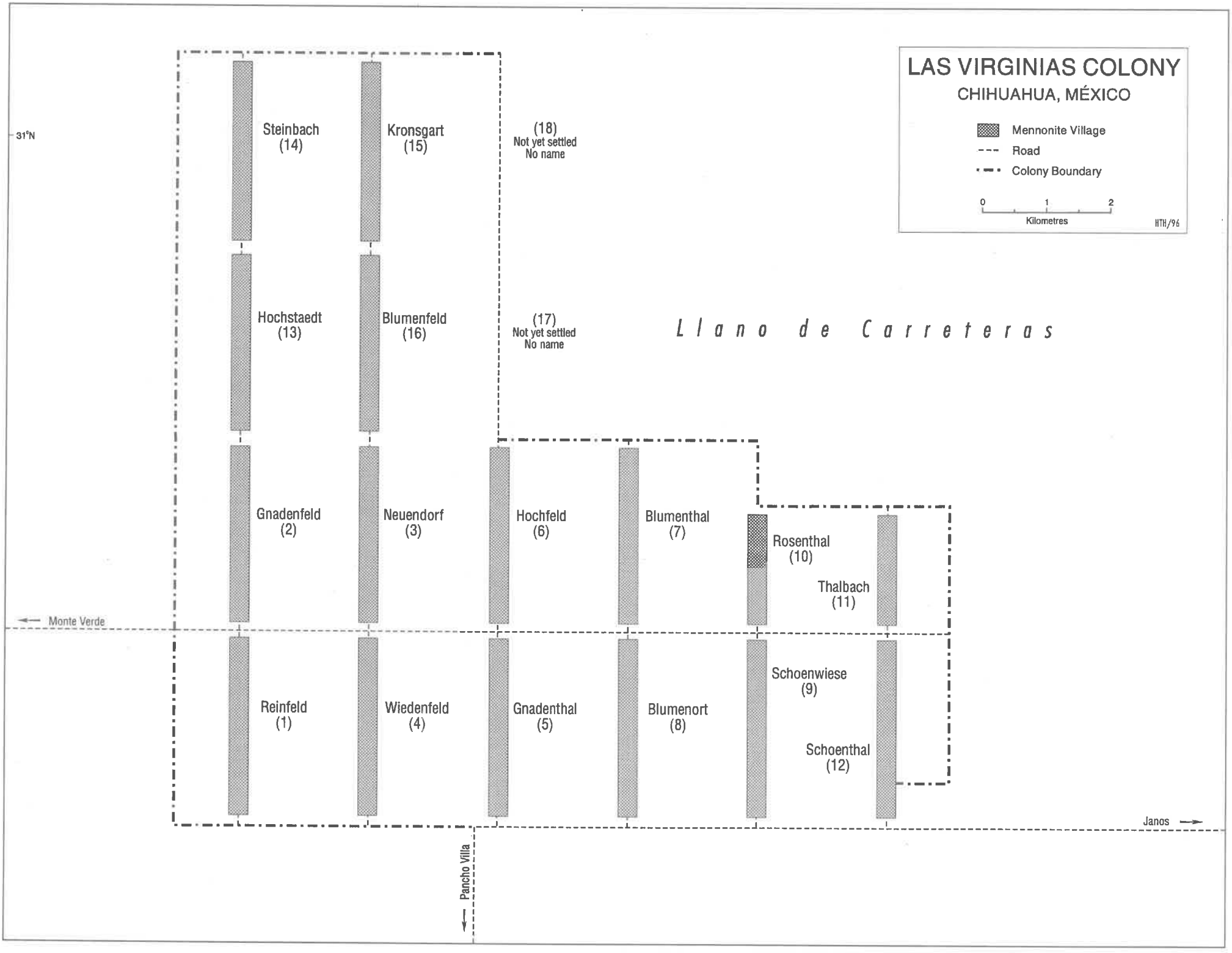

PARAGUAY
RIO VERDE
VOLENDAM
FRIESLAND
NUEVO DURANGO
Paraná River
Paranápanema River
BERGTHAL
Asunción
Coronel Oviedo
SOMMERFELD
Paraguay River
Cascavel
Ponta Grossa
Curitiba
Foz do Iguazú
Iguazú River
Guarapuava
NEU WITMARSUM
COLONIA LAPA
Paranaguá
BRAZIL
Encarnación
Posadas
Paraná River
Blumenau
Itajai
Waldheim
Gnadental
Witmarsum
Neuhoffnung
Auhagen
WITMARSUM
Stolz Plateau
Apostoles
Uruguay River
Passo Fundo
ARGENTINA
Uruguaiana
Santa Maria
Porto Alegre
Arapey
Bage
COLONIA NOVA
COLONIA MEDICI
Pelotas
Tacuarembo
Paysandu
Rio Grande
GARTENTAL
EL OMBU
Atlantic Ocean
URUGUAY
Trinidad
Colonia
DELTA
Río de la Plata
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN BRAZIL AND URUGUAY
Mennonite Colony
City/Town
Abandoned Settlement
Road
International Boundary
0
100
200
Kilometres
WS/96

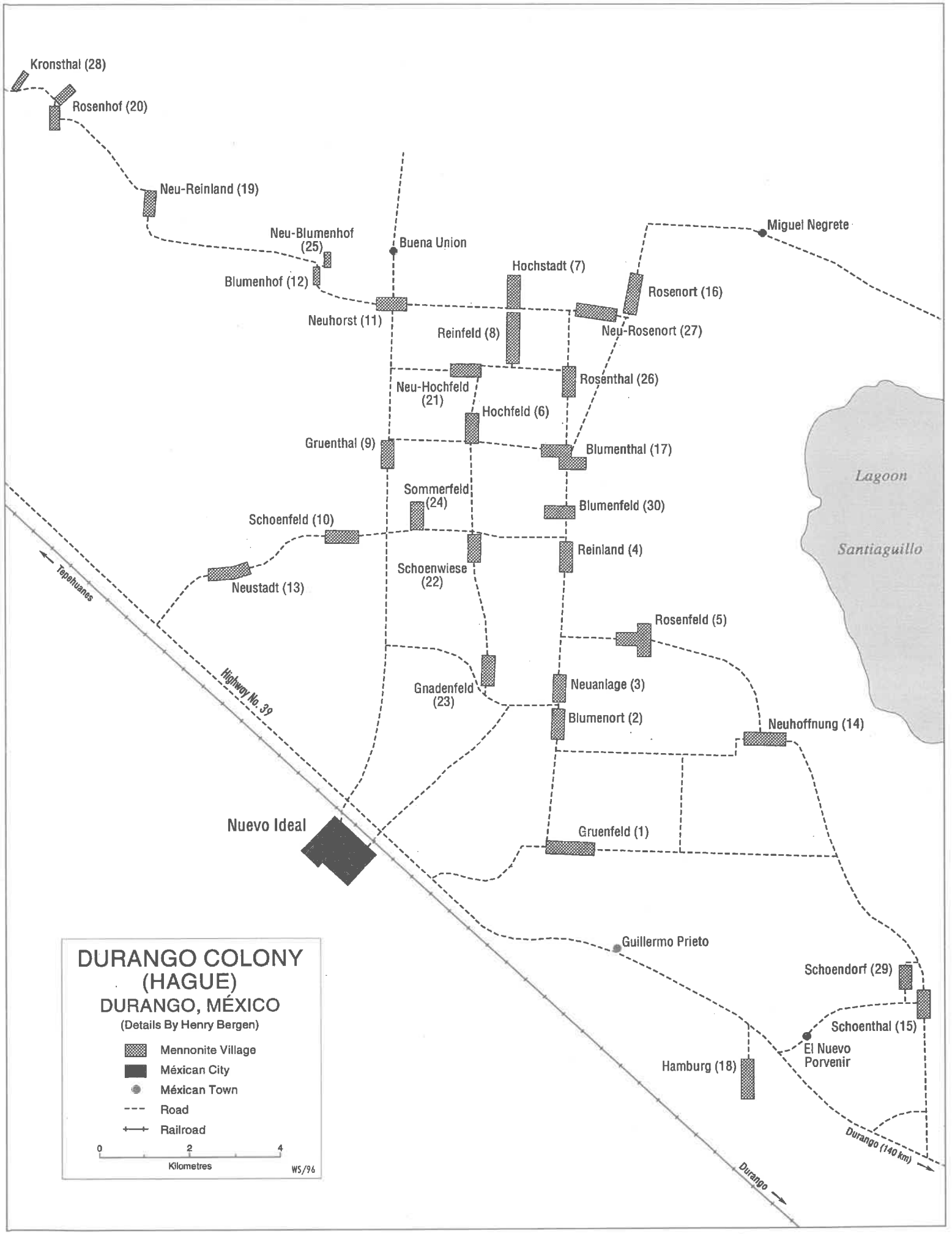
110°W
100°W
90°W
30°N
20°N
UNITED STATES
San Diego
El Paso
Ciudad Juárez
LA SOMBRA
LAS VIRGINIAS
BUENA VISTA
SABINAL
BUENOS AIRES
EL CUERVO
EL CAPULIN
Pecos River
Rio Grande
Mississippi River
New Orleans
Houston
San Antonio
BAJA CALIFORNIA
BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR
Gulf of California
SONORA
CHIHUAHUA
SANTA CLARA
QUELLENKOLONIE
SANTA RITA
NORDKOLONIE
SWIFT CURRENT
MANITOBA
Cuauhtémoc
Chihuahua
Ojinaga
EL EDEN
MONCLOVA
COAHUILA
Brownsville
Gulf of México
Monterrey
NUEVO LEON
NUEVA PADILLA
TAMAULIPAS
Ciudad Victoria
VILLA DE CASAS
GONZALEZ
Tampico
DURANGO
DURANGO (HAGUE)
Durango
LA HONDA
ZACATECAS
LA BATEA
SINALOA
NAYARIT
SAN LUIS POTOSI
Pacific Ocean
Gulf of Campeche
Mérida
YUCATAN
YALNÓN and CHAVI
Campeche
NUEVO PROGRESO
CAMPECHE
QUINTANA ROO
BELIZE
GUANAJUATO
QUERETARO
HIDALGO
Guadalajara
JALISCO
MICHOACAN
Mexico City
Puebla
PUEBLA
Veracruz
VERACRUZ
TABASCO
GUERRERO
OAXACA
CHIAPAS
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
EL SALVADOR
MENNONITE COLONIES IN MÉXICO
Mennonite Colony
City
International Boundary
State Boundary
Miles
0 100 200
0 100 200
Kilometres
HTH/96

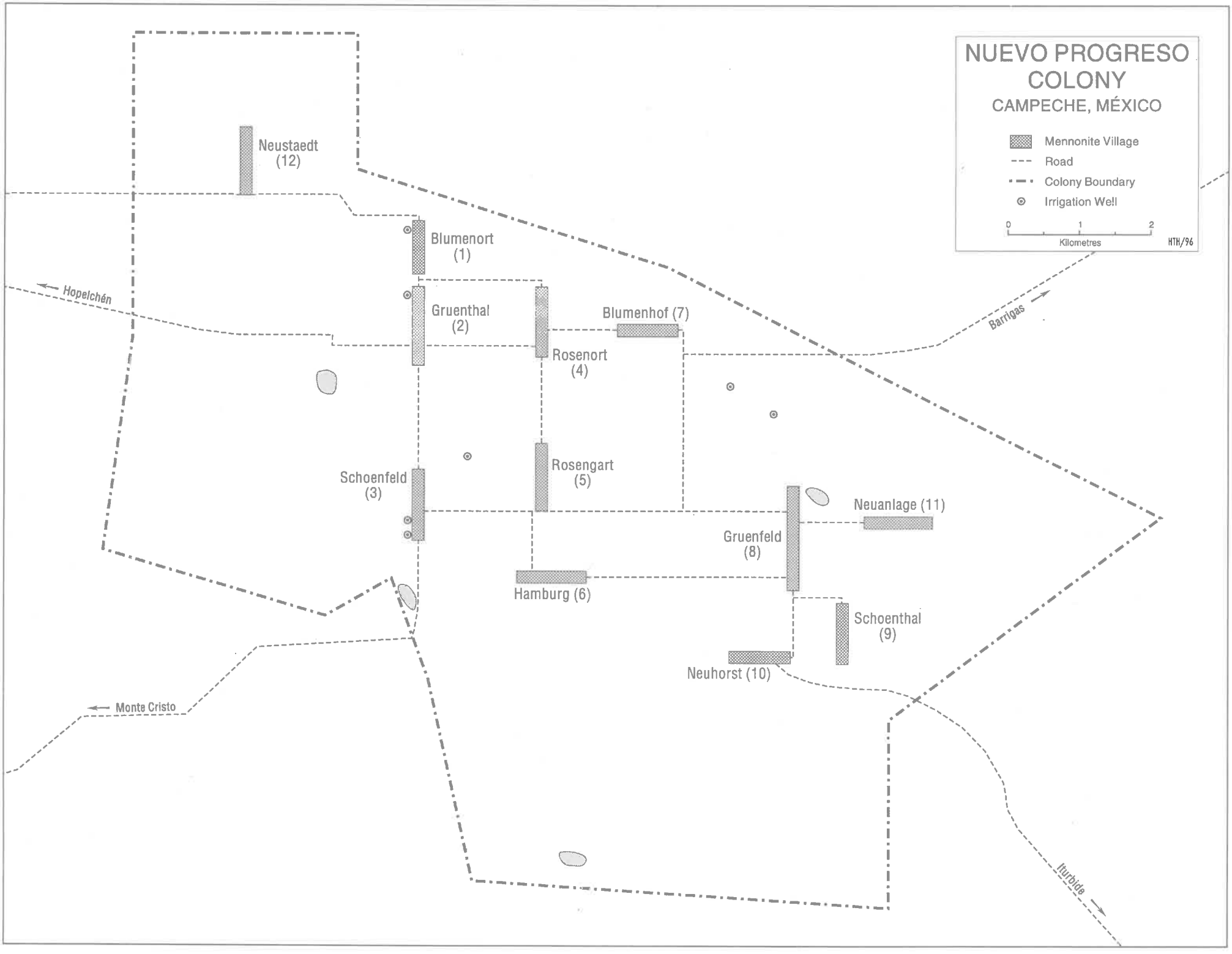

106°54'W
MENNONITE COLONIES NORTH OF ALVARO OBREGÓN
CHIHUAHUA, MÉXICO
(Details Provided By Frank Dueck and George Rempel)
Mennonite Village
Méxican Town
Road
0 5 10
Kilometres
WS/96
QUELLENKOLONIE (LOS JAGUEYES)
SANTA CLARA
SANTA RITA
NORDKOLONIE (OJO DE LA YEGUA)
SWIFT CURRENT
MANITOBA
part of SANTA CLARA
Santa Clara
Santa Clara River
Blumenthal (54)
Sommerfeld (53)
Neuanlage (53A)
Schoenthal (52)
Silberfeld (52A)
Weidenfeld (51)
Hoffnungsfeld (51A)
Steinberg (303)
Gruenland (302)
Thalheim (301)
Ebenfeld (305)
Springstein (304)
Eichenbach (306)
Kleindorf (252)
Gruenwald (253)
Spring-wasser (251)
Hoffnungsort (254)
Edenthal (517)
Lagoon Monte Redondo
Santa Barbara River
Conchenio Cr.
Cartuchera Cr.
Lagoon Aguila Muerto
76
75
77
Fernwald (85)
Fernthal (86)
Eichenbach (84)
Steinwiese (83)
Steinthal (82)
Perol Creek
Steinfeld (81)
Weidenthal (74)
Bachthal (80)
Schoenwald (79)
Horndean (73)
Waldfeld (78)
Braunfeld (87)
Rotfeld (72)
Neu-Schoenwiese (71)
Felsenthal (70)
Nordthal (65)
Silberthal (68)
Fernheim (66)
Lichtfeld (67)
Eichenthal (69)
Neu-Reinfeld (64B)
Olgafeld (63)
Schoenau (64A)
Hochthal (59)
Kronsfeld (62)
Hoffnungsthal (60)
Waldreich (61)
Rudnerweide (42B)
Ebenfeld (46)
Cordovana (45)
Blumstein (42)
Springfeld (41)
Halbstadt (55)
Bergthal (40)
Steinreich (38)
Springstein (44)
Rosenheim (43)
Springthal (50)
Santa Elena
La Quemada
Neuhof (36)
Altonau (35)
Hoffnungsau (31)
Sainapuchic
Pinos Prietos (32)
Heuboden (30)
Alvaro Obregón (Rubio)
28°45'N
106°54'W

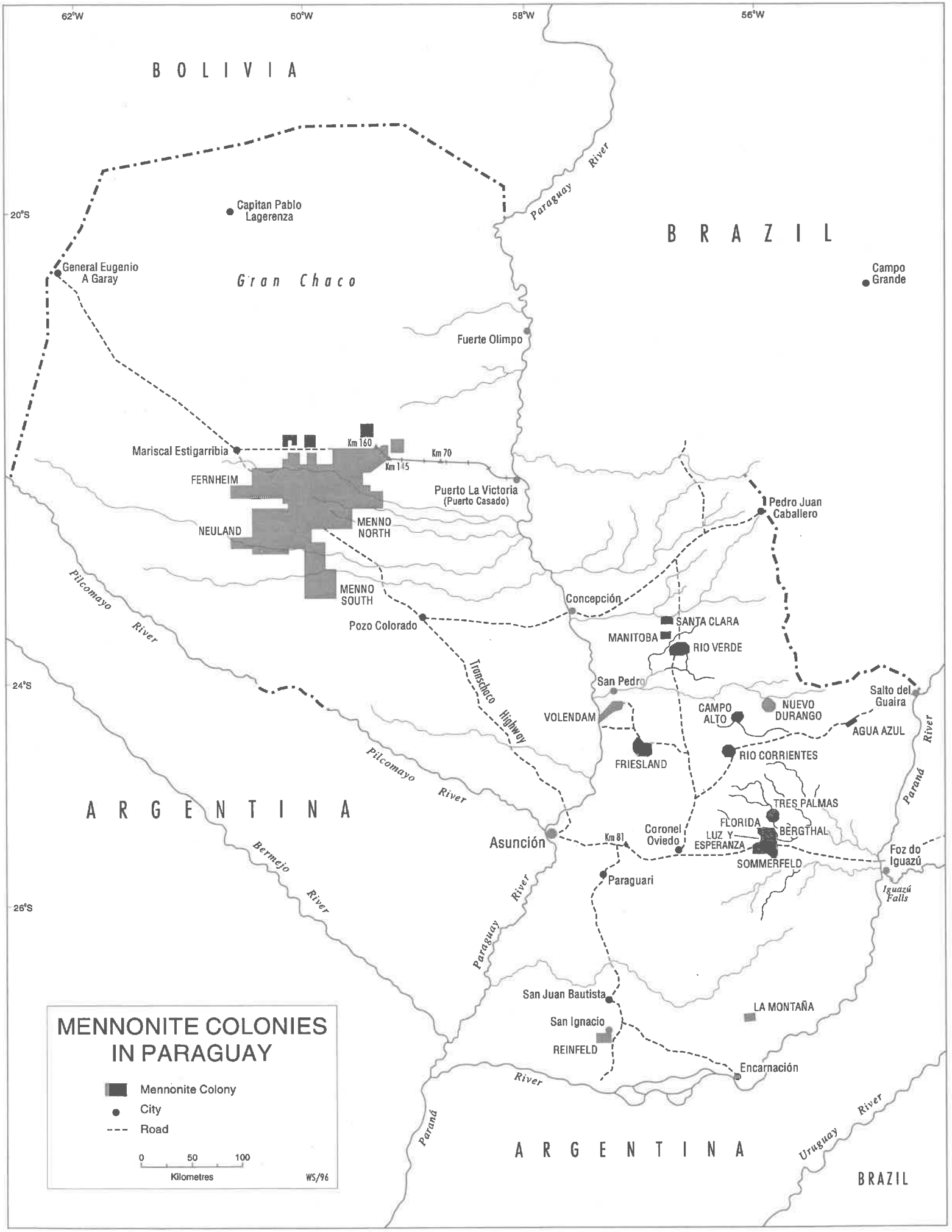

106°50'W
part of SANTA CLARA
NORDKOLONIE
Santa Elena
La Quemada
Schoendorf (115)
Burwalde (107)
Neustaedt (101)
Kleinstaedt (117)
Gruenfeld (109)
Bachfeld (118)
Eigenhof (148)
Schoenfeld (106)
NORDKOLONIE
Sainapuchic
Neuhoffnung (110)
Hoffnungsthal (114A)
Neuanlage (105)
Blumenheim (102)
Alvaro Obregón (Rubio)
Neurecht (111)
Schoenberg (113)
Blumenhof (103)
Einlage (11)
Hochfeld (10)
Grossweide (112)
Rosenhof (104)
Kronsfeld (9½)
Schoenthal (12A)
Hoffnungsfeld (12B)
Kronsthal (9)
SWIFT CURRENT
Eigenheim (13½)
Edenthal (108)
Reinfeld (8)
Neu-Reinfeld (8½)
San Diego Creek
Edenfeld (116)
Neuhorst (13)
Hochstaedt (14B)
Las Sauces Creek
Blumengart (15)
Eichenfeld (14A)
Rosengart (7B)
Rosenfeld (7A)
Edenburg (14C)
Rosenthal (6A)
Grunenthal (5)
Gruenland (16½)
Rosenbach (205)
Rosenort (6B)
Lowe Farm (6½)
Lagoon Bustillos
Blumenfeld (16)
Friedensruh (17)
Neu-Reinland (4½)
Reinthal (204)
Reinland (4)
Osterwick (18)
Waldheim (23)
MANITOBA
Schanzenfeld (19)
Steinbach (3B)
Schoenwiese (20)
28°30'N
Hamburg (3A)
Neuenburg (21)
Napavechic Creek
Neuwaldheim-Chortitz (24)
Chihuahua
Blumenort (22)
Anáhuac
Gnadenfeld (2B)
Blumenthal (25)
Neu-Blumenthal (25½)
Gnadenthal (2A)
Thalbach (1C)
Cuauhtémoc
Adolpho López Matias
Gnadenhof (34)
Neuendorf (1B)
Chocochic Ct.
Kleefeld (1A)
Neu-Silberfeld (26½)
Kronsgart (27)
Silberfeld (26)
Weidenfeld (28)
106°50'W
SWIFT CURRENT AND MANITOBA COLONIES
CHIHUAHUA, MÉXICO
(From Maps By J. Froese and Prof. L. Sawatzky)
Mennonite Village
Méxican City/Town
Road
Railroad
0 5 10
Kilometres
WS/96

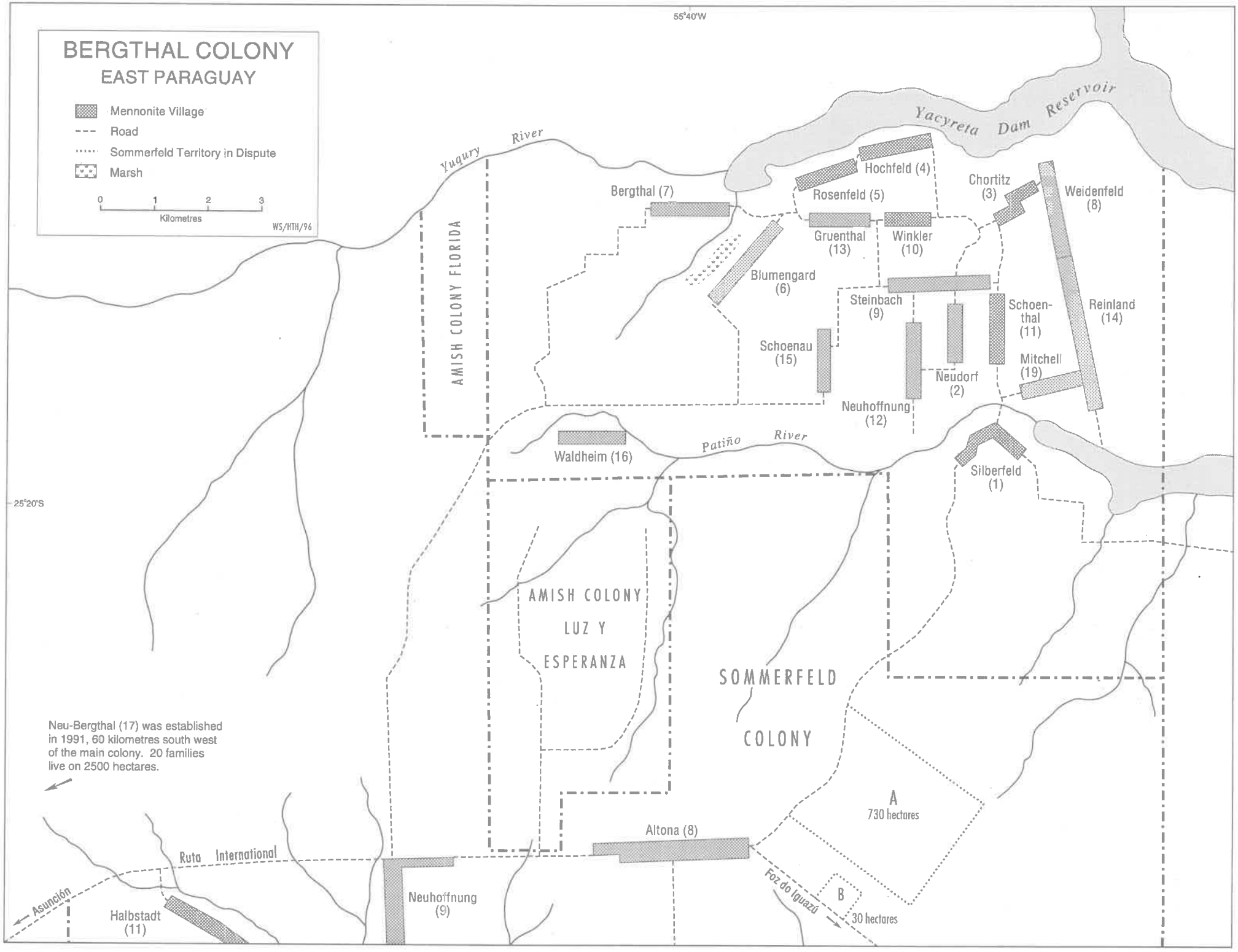

UNITED STATES
Antelope Wells
NEW MEXICO
CHIHUAHUA
El Berrendio
Agua Prieta
MÉXICO
108°W
Camello
LA SOMBRA
Casas Grandes River
Ciudad Juárez
BUENA VISTA
Nogales
No. 2
Buena Vista
Ascención
Laguna de Ascención
Llano de Carreteras
México
No. 2
31°N
LAS VIRGINIAS
Janos
Ejido San Pedro
Fernández Leal
Tres Alamos
Pancho Villa
BUENOS AIRES
No. 10
EL CAPULIN
Casa Janos
EL CUERVO
Graciano Sánchez
Guadalupe Victoria
Hidalgo
Dublán
Nuevo Casas Grandes
Casas Grandes
MENNONITE COLONIES IN NORTH WEST CHIHUAHUA
MÉXICO
(Based On A Map By Johan Neufeld)
Mennonite Colony
City/Town
Major Highway
Road
Railroad
International Boundary
0
10
20
Kilometres
HTH/96

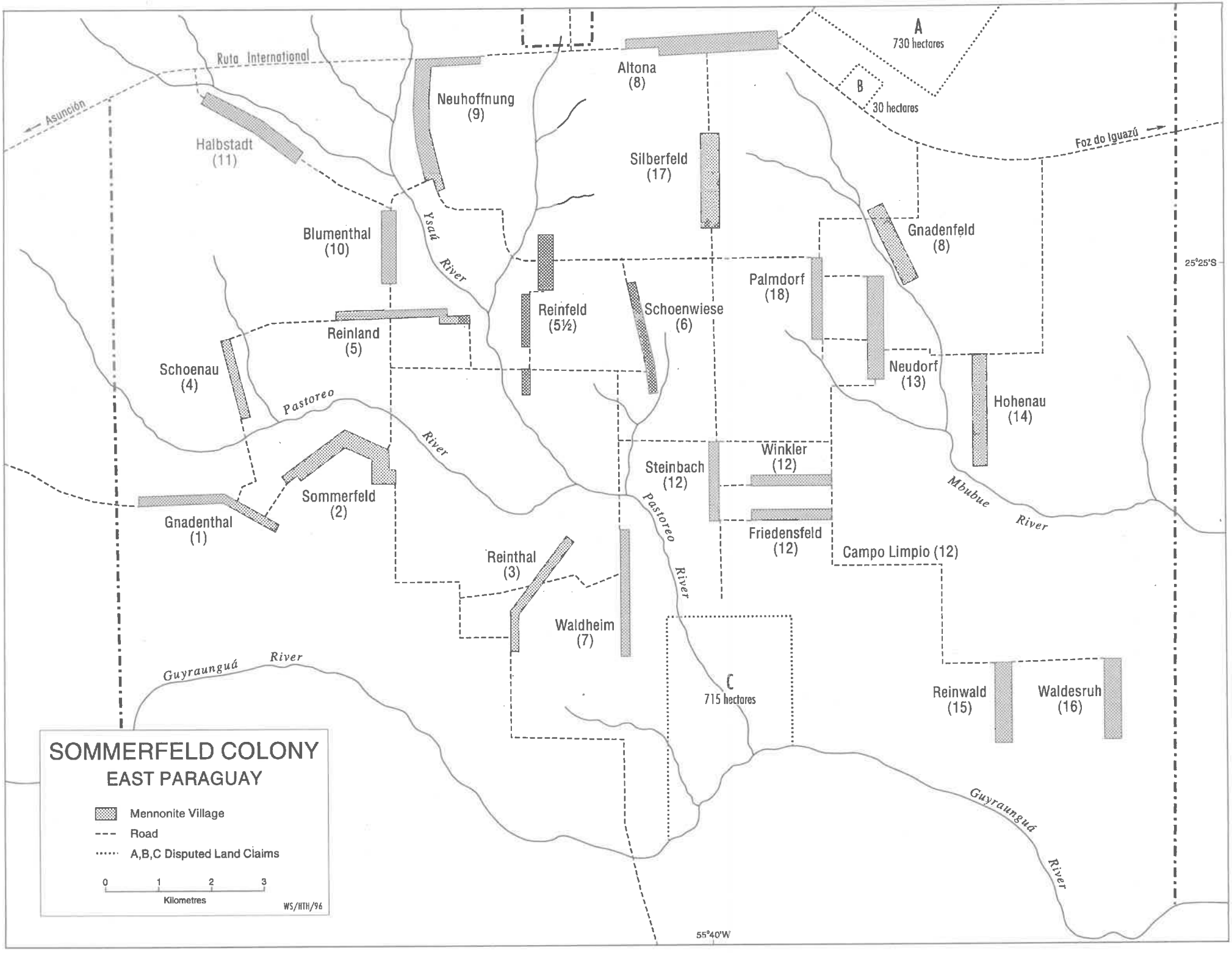

LAS VIRGINIAS COLONY
CHIHUAHUA, MÉXICO
Mennonite Village
Road
Colony Boundary
0
1
2
Kilometres
HTH/96
31°N
Steinbach
(14)
Kronsgart
(15)
(18)
Not yet settled
No name
Hochstaedt
(13)
Blumenfeld
(16)
(17)
Not yet settled
No name
Llano de Carreteras
Gnadenfeld
(2)
Neuendorf
(3)
Hochfeld
(6)
Blumenthal
(7)
Rosenthal
(10)
Thalbach
(11)
Monte Verde
Reinfeld
(1)
Wiedenfeld
(4)
Gnadenthal
(5)
Blumenort
(8)
Schoenwiese
(9)
Schoenthal
(12)
Janos
Pancho Villa

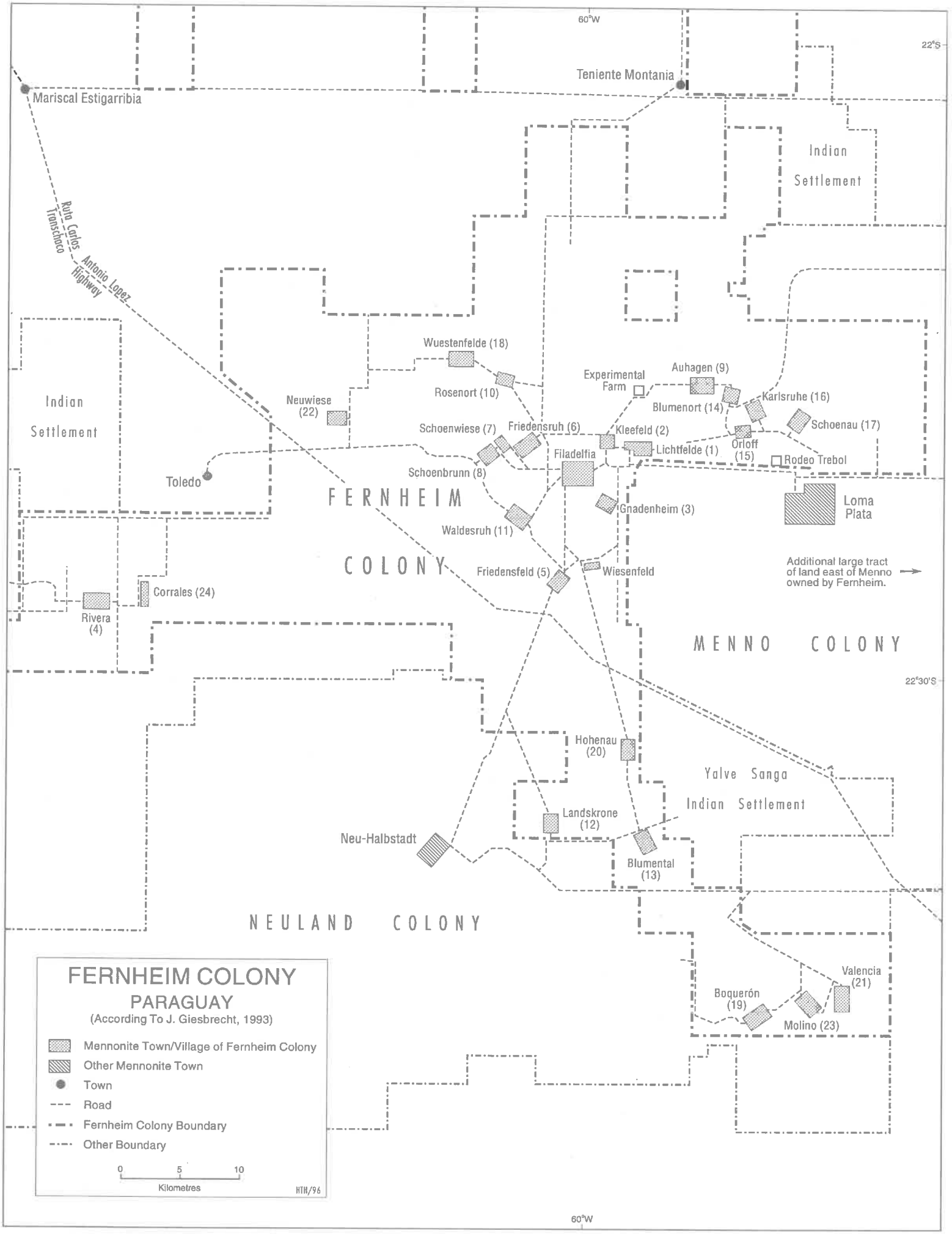

Kronsthal (28)
Rosenhof (20)
Neu-Reinland (19)
Neu-Blumenhof (25)
Blumenhof (12)
Buena Union
Miguel Negrete
Hochstadt (7)
Rosenort (16)
Neuhorst (11)
Reinfeld (8)
Neu-Rosenort (27)
Rosenthal (26)
Neu-Hochfeld (21)
Hochfeld (6)
Gruenthal (9)
Blumenthal (17)
Lagoon
Santiaguillo
Sommerfeld (24)
Blumenfeld (30)
Schoenfeld (10)
Reinland (4)
Schoenwiese (22)
Neustadt (13)
Tepehuanes
Rosenfeld (5)
Highway No. 39
Gnadenfeld (23)
Neuanlage (3)
Blumenort (2)
Neuhoffnung (14)
Nuevo Ideal
Gruenfeld (1)
Guillermo Prieto
Schoendorf (29)
Schoenthal (15)
El Nuevo Porvenir
Hamburg (18)
Durango (140 km)
Durango
DURANGO COLONY
(HAGUE)
DURANGO, MÉXICO
(Details By Henry Bergen)
Mennonite Village
Méxican City
Méxican Town
Road
Railroad
0
2
4
Kilometres
WS/96

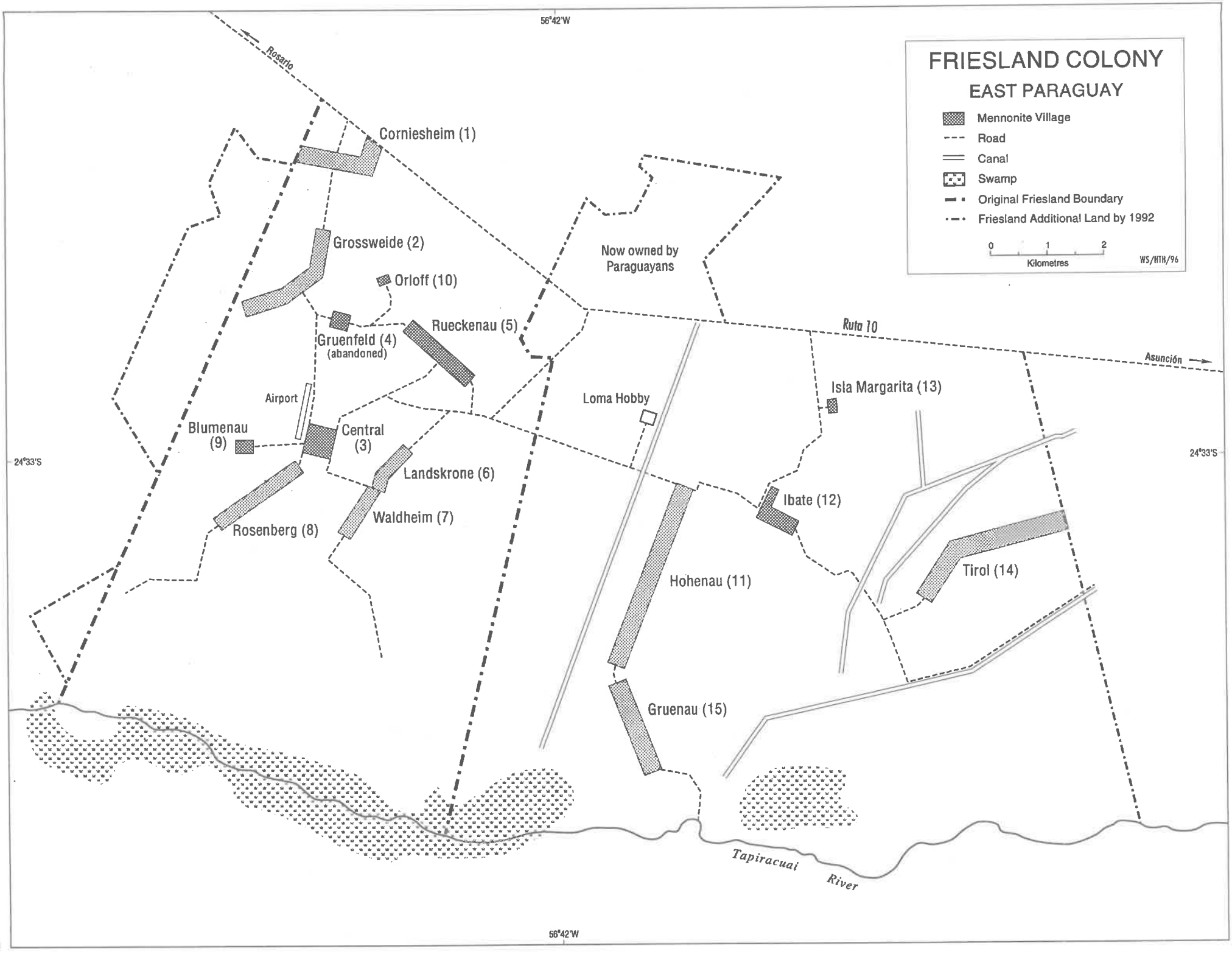

NUEVO PROGRESO
COLONY
CAMPECHE, MÉXICO
Mennonite Village
Road
Colony Boundary
Irrigation Well
0
1
2
Kilometres
HTH/96
Neustaedt
(12)
Blumenort
(1)
Hopelchén
Gruenthal
(2)
Blumenhof (7)
Barrigas
Rosenort
(4)
Rosengart
(5)
Schoenfeld
(3)
Neuanlage (11)
Gruenfeld
(8)
Hamburg (6)
Schoenthal
(9)
Neuhorst (10)
Monte Cristo
Iturbide

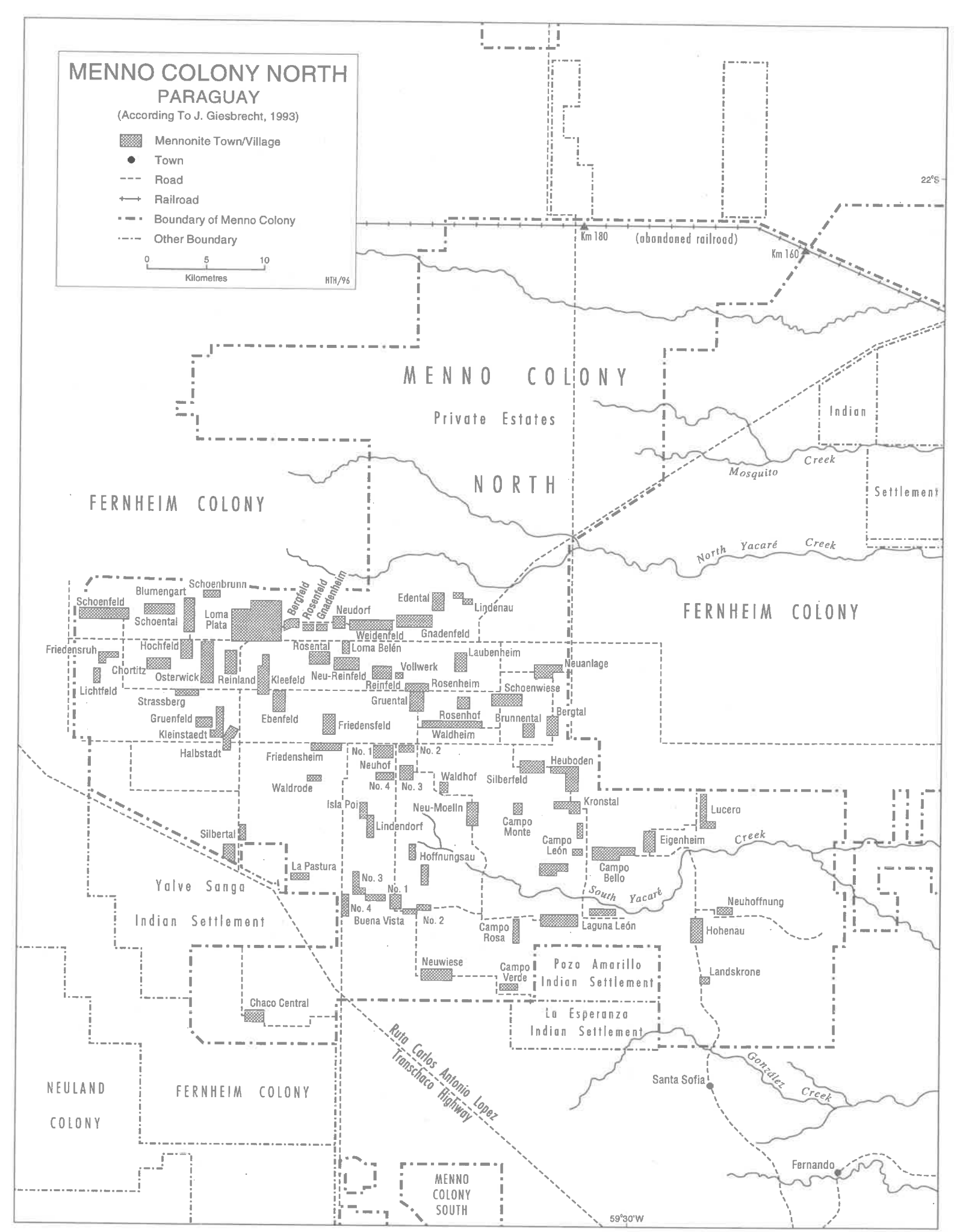

62°W
60°W
58°W
56°W
20°S
24°S
26°S
BOLIVIA
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
ARGENTINA
BRAZIL
Capitan Pablo Lagerenza
General Eugenio A Garay
Gran Chaco
Paraguay River
Fuerte Olimpo
Campo Grande
Mariscal Estigarribia
Km 160
Km 145
Km 70
FERNHEIM
NEULAND
MENNO NORTH
MENNO SOUTH
Puerto La Victoria (Puerto Casado)
Pedro Juan Caballero
Pilcomayo River
Pozo Colorado
Concepción
SANTA CLARA
MANITOBA
RIO VERDE
Transchaco Highway
San Pedro
VOLENDAM
FRIESLAND
CAMPO ALTO
NUEVO DURANGO
Salto del Guaira
AGUA AZUL
RIO CORRIENTES
Paraná River
TRES PALMAS
FLORIDA
BERGTHAL
LUZ Y ESPERANZA
SOMMERFELD
Asunción
Km 81
Coronel Oviedo
Foz do Iguazú
Iguazú Falls
Paraguari
Bermejo River
Paraguay River
San Juan Bautista
LA MONTAÑA
San Ignacio
REINFELD
Encarnación
Paraná River
Uruguay River
MENNONITE COLONIES IN PARAGUAY
Mennonite Colony
City
Road
0
50
100
Kilometres
WS/96

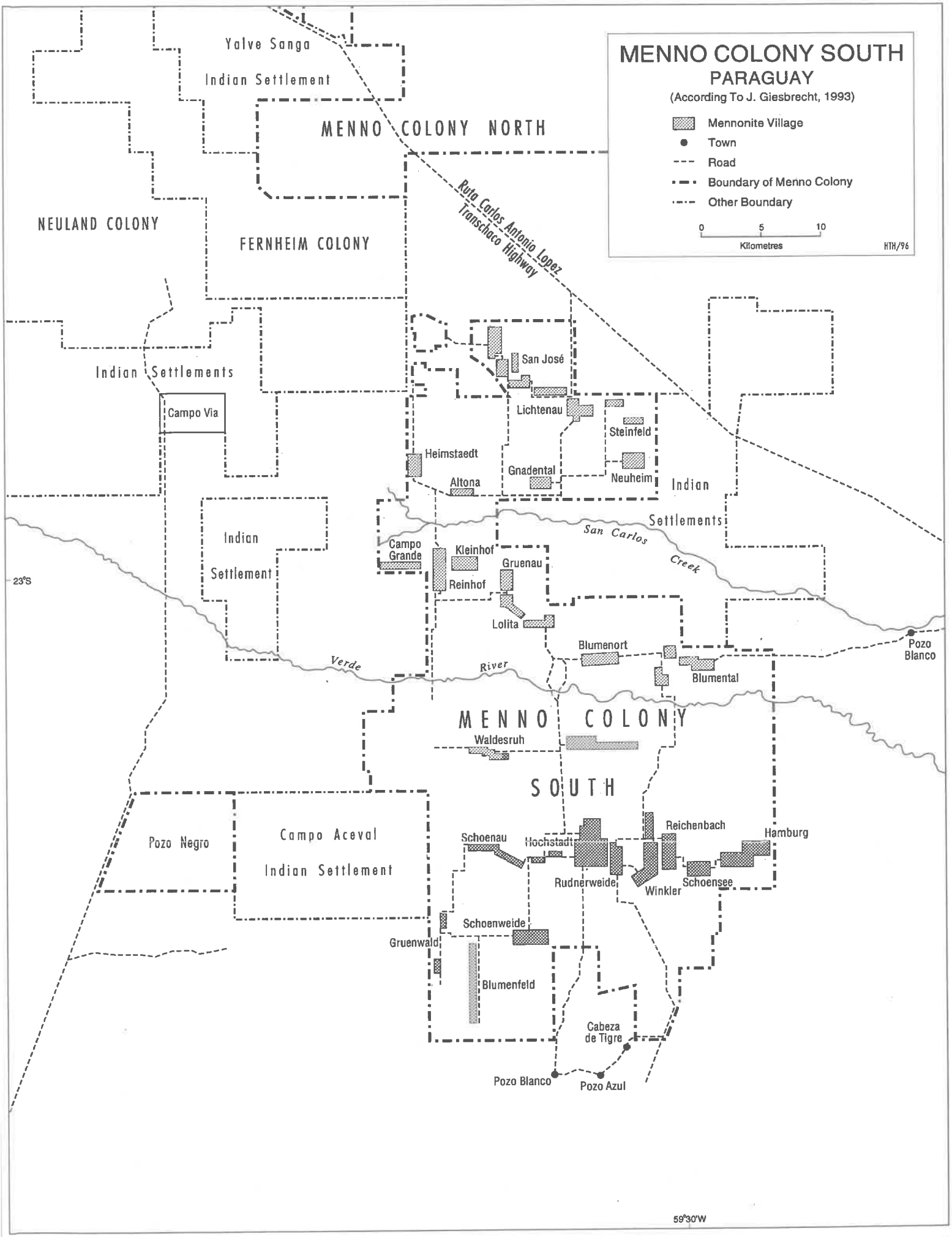

BERGTHAL COLONY
EAST PARAGUAY
Mennonite Village
Road
Sommerfeld Territory in Dispute
Marsh
0 1 2 3
Kilometres
WS/HTH/96
55°40'W
25°20'S
Yacyreta Dam Reservoir
Yugury River
Patiño River
AMISH COLONY FLORIDA
Bergthal (7)
Hochfeld (4)
Rosenfeld (5)
Chortitz (3)
Weidenfeld (8)
Gruenthal (13)
Winkler (10)
Blumengard (6)
Steinbach (9)
Schoen-thal (11)
Reinland (14)
Schoenau (15)
Mitchell (19)
Neudorf (2)
Neuhoffnung (12)
Waldheim (16)
Silberfeld (1)
AMISH COLONY LUZ Y ESPERANZA
SOMMERFELD COLONY
A
730 hectares
B
30 hectares
Altona (8)
Neu-Bergthal (17) was established in 1991, 60 kilometres south west of the main colony. 20 families live on 2500 hectares.
Ruta International
Asunción
Halbstadt (11)
Neuhoffnung (9)
Foz do Iguazú

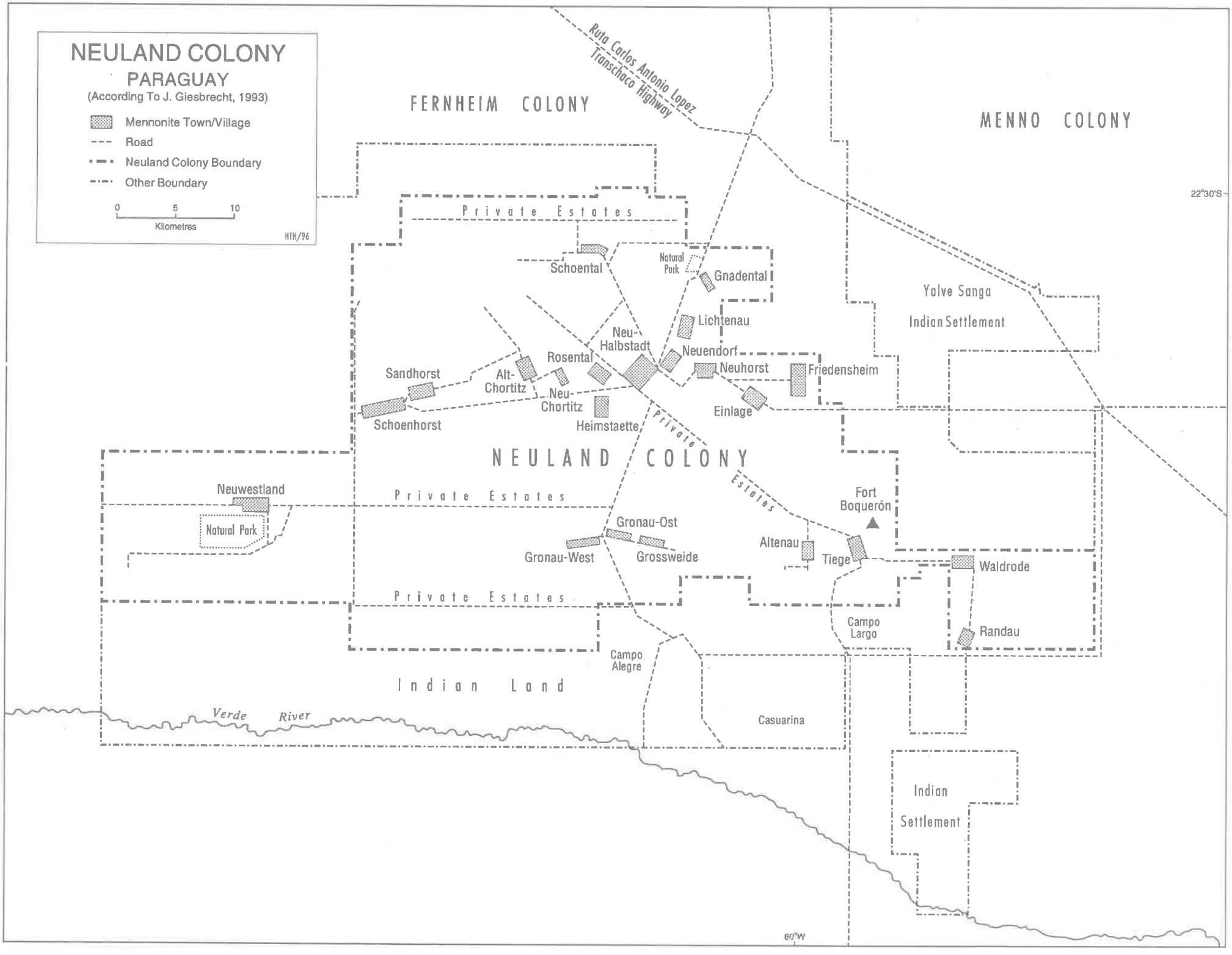

Ruta International
Asunción
Foz do Iguazú
A
730 hectares
B
30 hectares
C
715 hectares
Altona
(8)
Neuhoffnung
(9)
Halbstadt
(11)
Silberfeld
(17)
Blumenthal
(10)
Ysaú River
Gnadenfeld
(8)
25°25'S
Palmdorf
(18)
Reinfeld
(5½)
Schoenwiese
(6)
Reinland
(5)
Schoenau
(4)
Neudorf
(13)
Hohenau
(14)
Pastoreo River
Winkler
(12)
Steinbach
(12)
Mbubue River
Sommerfeld
(2)
Friedensfeld
(12)
Campo Limpio (12)
Gnadenthal
(1)
Reinthal
(3)
Pastoreo River
Waldheim
(7)
Guyraunguá River
Reinwald
(15)
Waldesruh
(16)
Guyraunguá River
55°40'W
SOMMERFELD COLONY
EAST PARAGUAY
Mennonite Village
Road
A,B,C Disputed Land Claims
0 1 2 3
Kilometres
WS/HTH/96

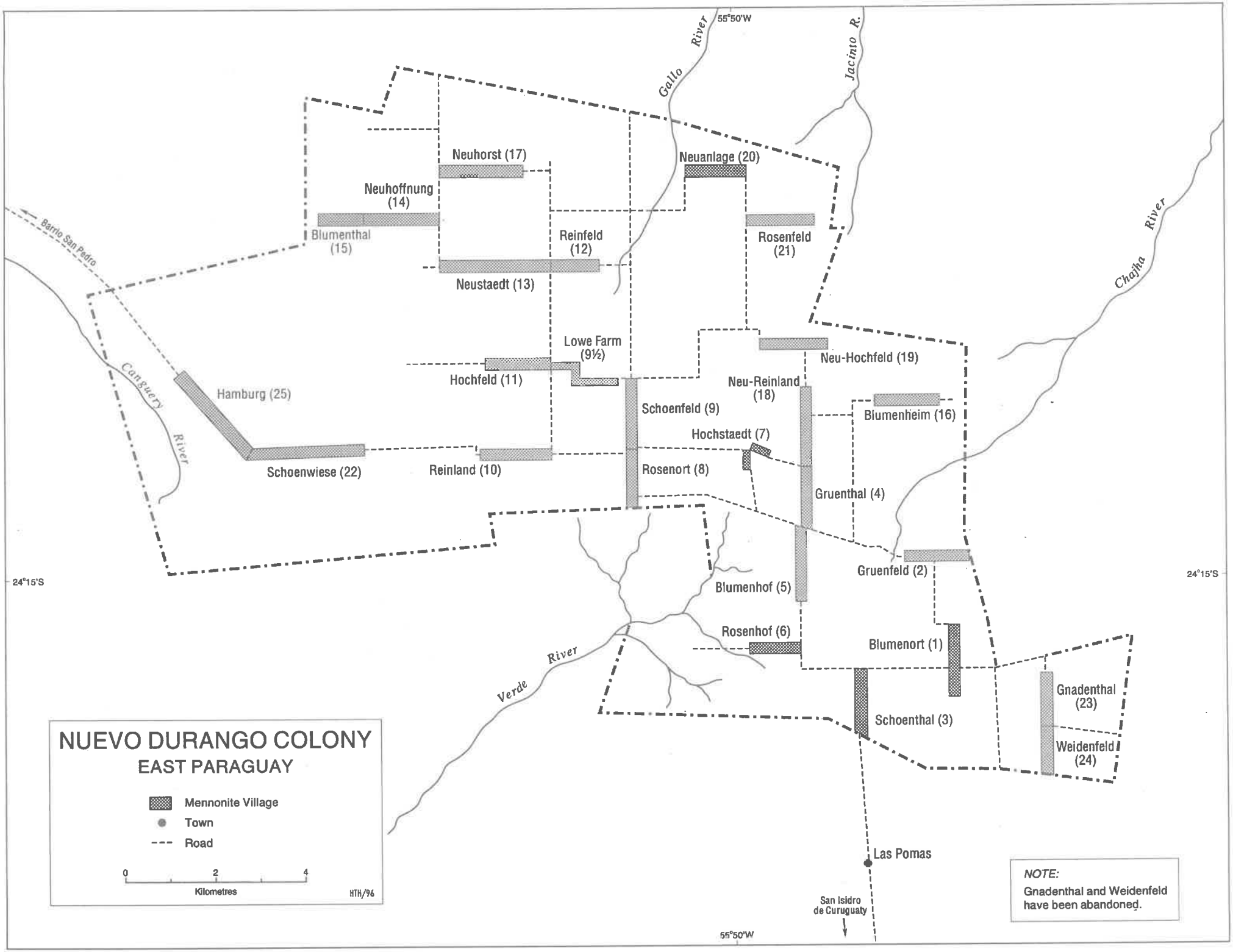

60°W
22°S
Teniente Montania
Mariscal Estigarribia
Ruta Carlos Transchaco Antonio Lopez Highway
Indian Settlement
Indian Settlement
Wuestenfelde (18)
Rosenort (10)
Neuwiese (22)
Experimental Farm
Auhagen (9)
Blumenort (14)
Karlsruhe (16)
Schoenau (17)
Schoenwiese (7)
Friedensruh (6)
Kleefeld (2)
Lichtfelde (1)
Orloff (15)
Rodeo Trebol
Filadelfia
Schoenbrunn (8)
Toledo
FERNHEIM COLONY
Gnadenheim (3)
Loma Plata
Waldesruh (11)
Friedensfeld (5)
Wiesenfeld
Additional large tract of land east of Menno owned by Fernheim.
Corrales (24)
Rivera (4)
MENNO COLONY
22°30'S
Hohenau (20)
Yalve Sanga Indian Settlement
Landskrone (12)
Neu-Halbstadt
Blumental (13)
NEULAND COLONY
Valencia (21)
Boquerón (19)
Molino (23)
FERNHEIM COLONY
PARAGUAY
(According To J. Giesbrecht, 1993)
Mennonite Town/Village of Fernheim Colony
Other Mennonite Town
Town
Road
Fernheim Colony Boundary
Other Boundary
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96
60°W

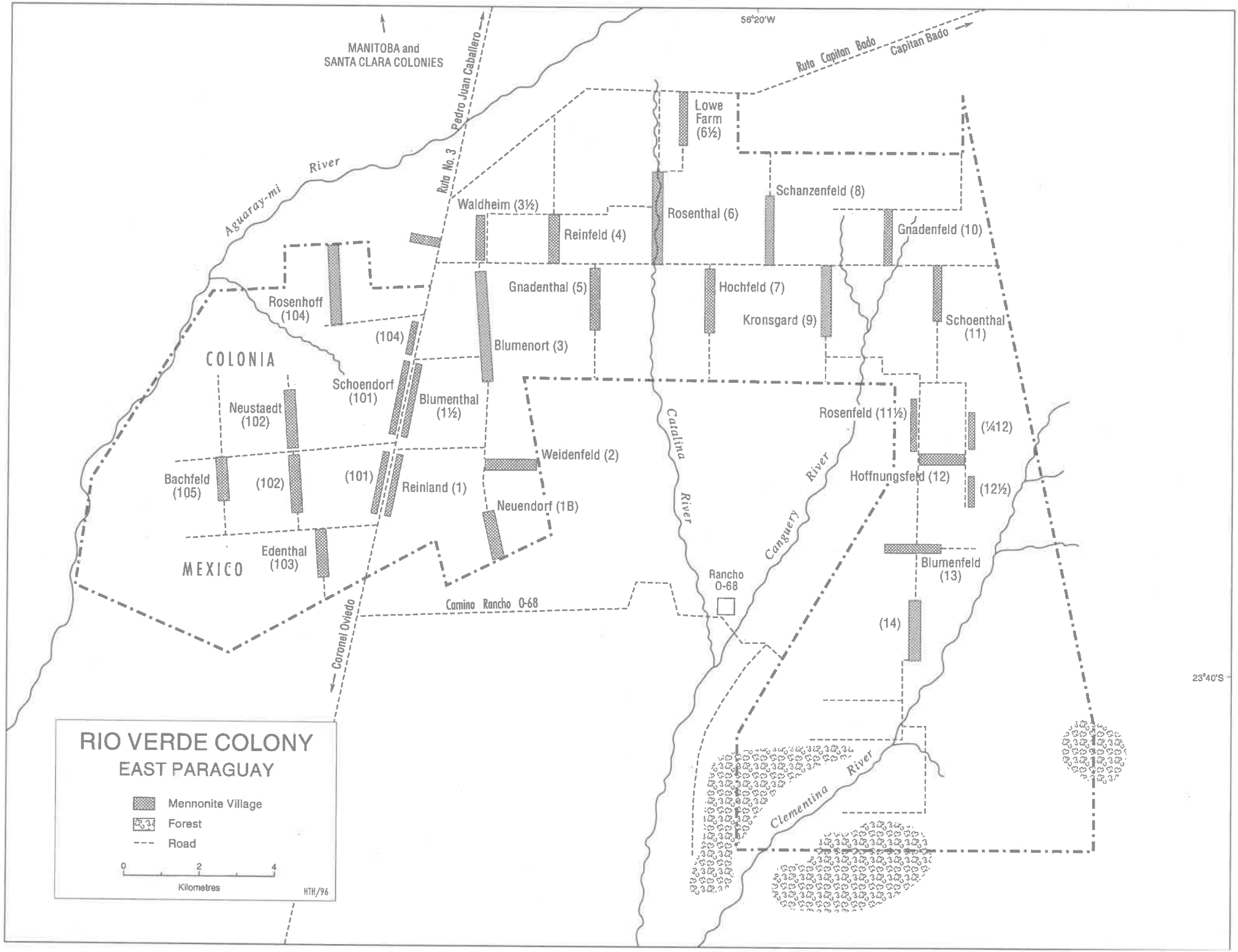

FRIESLAND COLONY
EAST PARAGUAY
Mennonite Village
Road
Canal
Swamp
Original Friesland Boundary
Friesland Additional Land by 1992
0
1
2
Kilometres
WS/HTH/96
56°42'W
Rosario
Cornieshein (1)
Grossweide (2)
Orloff (10)
Rueckenau (5)
Gruenfeld (4)
(abandoned)
Now owned by
Paraguayans
Ruta 10
Asunción
Airport
Blumenau
(9)
Central
(3)
Loma Hobby
Isla Margarita (13)
24°33'S
Landskrone (6)
Waldheim (7)
Rosenberg (8)
Ibate (12)
Hohenau (11)
Tirol (14)
Gruenau (15)
Tapiracuai
River
56°42'W

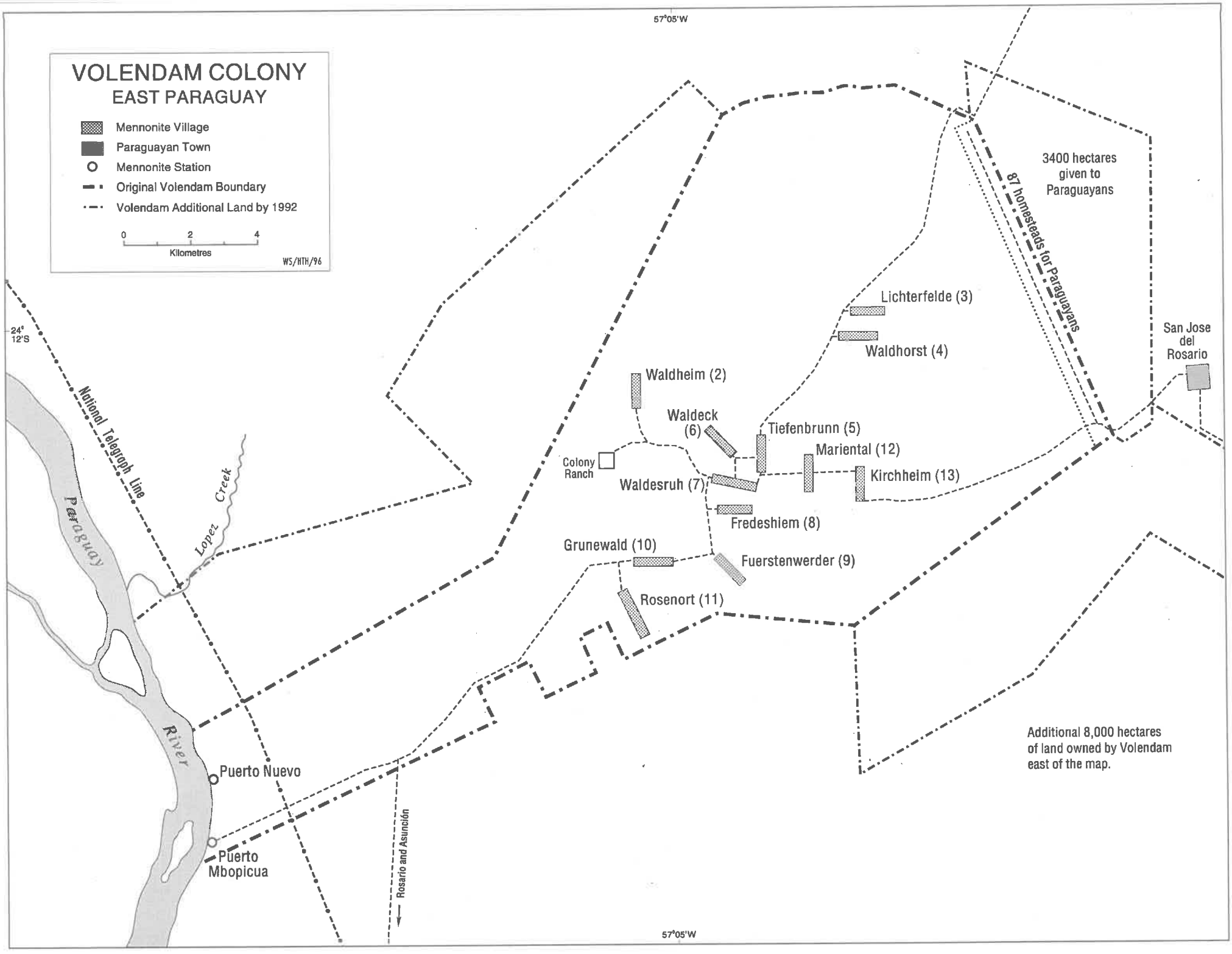

MENNO COLONY NORTH
PARAGUAY
(According To J. Giesbrecht, 1993)
Mennonite Town/Village
Town
Road
Railroad
Boundary of Menno Colony
Other Boundary
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96
22°S
Km 180
(abandoned railroad)
Km 160
MENNO COLONY
Private Estates
NORTH
FERNHEIM COLONY
Indian
Mosquito Creek
Settlement
North Yacaré Creek
FERNHEIM COLONY
Schoenbrunn
Blumengart
Schoenfeld
Schoental
Loma Plata
Bergfeld
Rosenfeld
Gnadenheim
Neudorf
Edental
Lindenau
Weidenfeld
Gnadenfeld
Friedensruh
Hochfeld
Rosental
Loma Belén
Laubenheim
Chortitz
Osterwick
Reinland
Kleefeld
Neu-Reinfeld
Vollwerk
Neuanlage
Reinfeld
Rosenheim
Lichtfeld
Strassberg
Schoenwiese
Gruental
Gruenfeld
Kleinstaedt
Ebenfeld
Friedensfeld
Rosenhof
Brunnental
Bergtal
Waldheim
Halbstadt
Friedensheim
No. 1
No. 2
Neuhof
Heuboden
Waldrode
No. 4
No. 3
Waldhof
Silberfeld
Isla Poi
Neu-Moelln
Kronstal
Lucero
Lindendorf
Campo Monte
Silbertal
Campo León
Eigenheim
Creek
Hoffnungsau
La Pastura
Campo Bello
Yalve Sanga
Indian Settlement
No. 3
No. 1
South Yacaré
Neuhoffnung
No. 4
Buena Vista
No. 2
Campo Rosa
Laguna León
Hohenau
Neuwiese
Campo Verde
Pozo Amarillo
Indian Settlement
Landskrone
Chaco Central
La Esperanza
Indian Settlement
Ruta Carlos Antonio Lopez
Transchaco Highway
Santa Sofia
Gonzalez Creek
NEULAND
COLONY
FERNHEIM COLONY
Fernando
MENNO
COLONY
SOUTH
59°30'W


MENNO COLONY SOUTH
PARAGUAY
(According To J. Giesbrecht, 1993)
Mennonite Village
Town
Road
Boundary of Menno Colony
Other Boundary
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96
Yalve Sanga
Indian Settlement
MENNO COLONY NORTH
NEULAND COLONY
FERNHEIM COLONY
Ruta Carlos Antonio Lopez
Transchaco Highway
Indian Settlements
Campo Via
San José
Lichtenau
Steinfeld
Heimstaedt
Gnadental
Neuheim
Altona
Indian Settlements
San Carlos Creek
Indian Settlement
Campo Grande
Kleinhof
Gruenau
Reinhof
Lolita
23°S
Blumenort
Pozo Blanco
Verde River
Blumental
MENNO COLONY
Waldesruh
SOUTH
Pozo Negro
Campo Aceval
Indian Settlement
Schoenau
Hochstadt
Reichenbach
Hamburg
Rudnerweide
Winkler
Schoensee
Schoenweide
Gruenwald
Blumenfeld
Cabeza de Tigre
Pozo Blanco
Pozo Azul
59°30'W


NEULAND COLONY
PARAGUAY
(According To J. Giesbrecht, 1993)
Mennonite Town/Village
Road
Neuland Colony Boundary
Other Boundary
0 5 10
Kilometres
HTH/96
Ruta Carlos Antonio Lopez
Transchaco Highway
FERNHEIM COLONY
MENNO COLONY
22°30'S
Private Estates
Schoental
Natural Park
Gnadental
Yalve Sanga
Indian Settlement
Lichtenau
Neu-
Halbstadt
Neuendorf
Rosental
Sandhorst
Alt-
Chortitz
Neuhorst
Friedensheim
Neu-
Chortitz
Einlage
Schoenhorst
Heimstaette
Private Estates
NEULAND COLONY
Neuwestland
Private Estates
Natural Park
Fort
Boquerón
Gronau-Ost
Altenau
Gronau-West
Grossweide
Tiege
Waldrode
Private Estates
Campo
Largo
Randau
Campo
Alegre
Indian Land
Verde River
Casuarina
Indian
Settlement
60°W

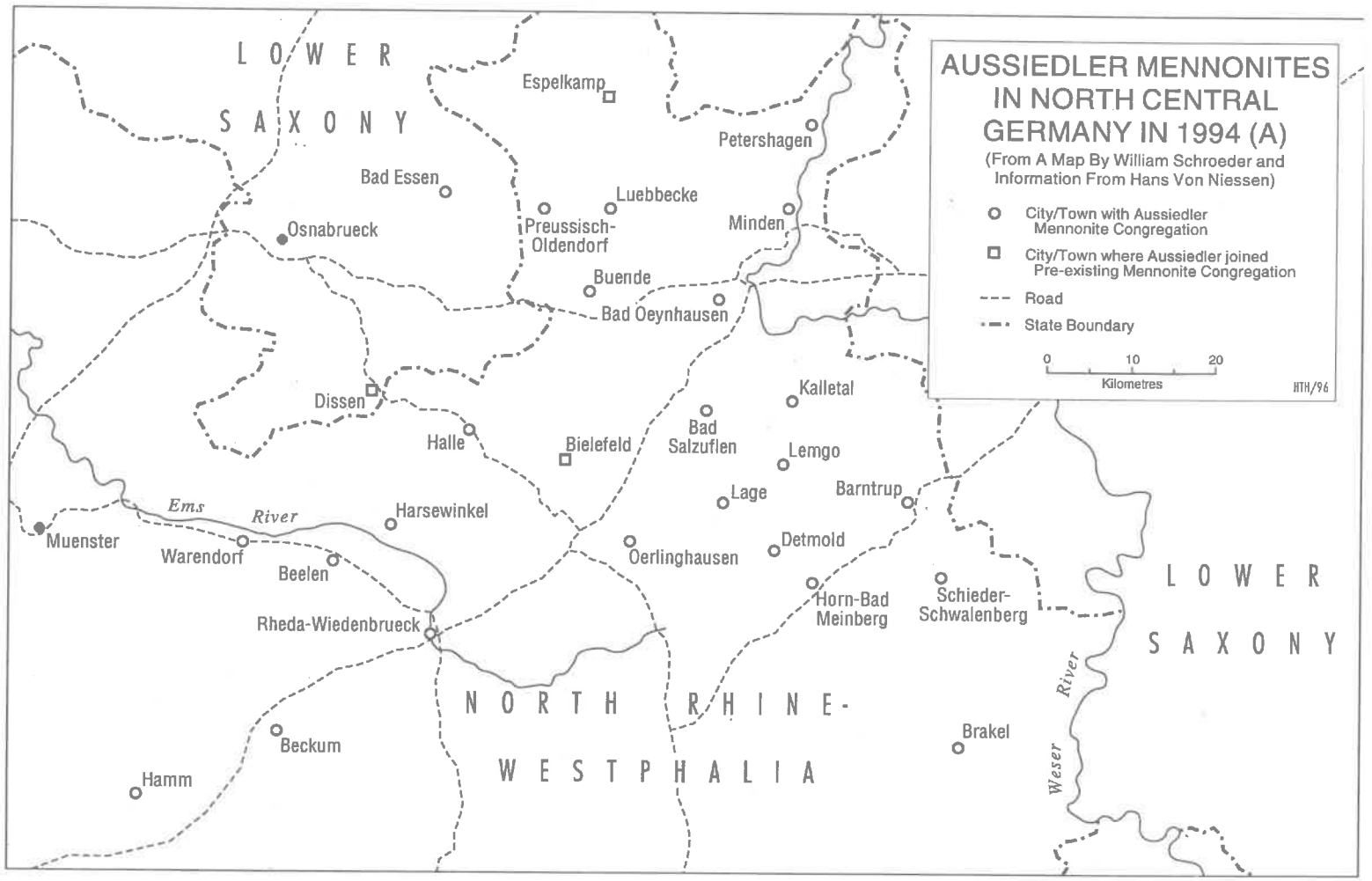

55°50'W
Gallo River
Jacinto R.
Chajha River
Neuhorst (17)
Neuanlage (20)
Neuhoffnung (14)
Blumenthal (15)
Reinfeld (12)
Rosenfeld (21)
Neustaedt (13)
Barrio San Pedro
Lowe Farm (9½)
Neu-Hochfeld (19)
Hochfeld (11)
Neu-Reinland (18)
Canguery River
Hamburg (25)
Schoenfeld (9)
Blumenheim (16)
Hochstaedt (7)
Schoenwiese (22)
Reinland (10)
Rosenort (8)
Gruenthal (4)
24°15'S
Gruenfeld (2)
Blumenhof (5)
Rosenhof (6)
Blumenort (1)
Verde River
Gnadenthal (23)
Schoenthal (3)
Weidenfeld (24)
Las Pomas
San Isidro de Curuguaty
55°50'W
NUEVO DURANGO COLONY
EAST PARAGUAY
Mennonite Village
Town
Road
0
2
4
Kilometres
HTH/96
NOTE:
Gnadenthal and Weidenfeld have been abandoned.

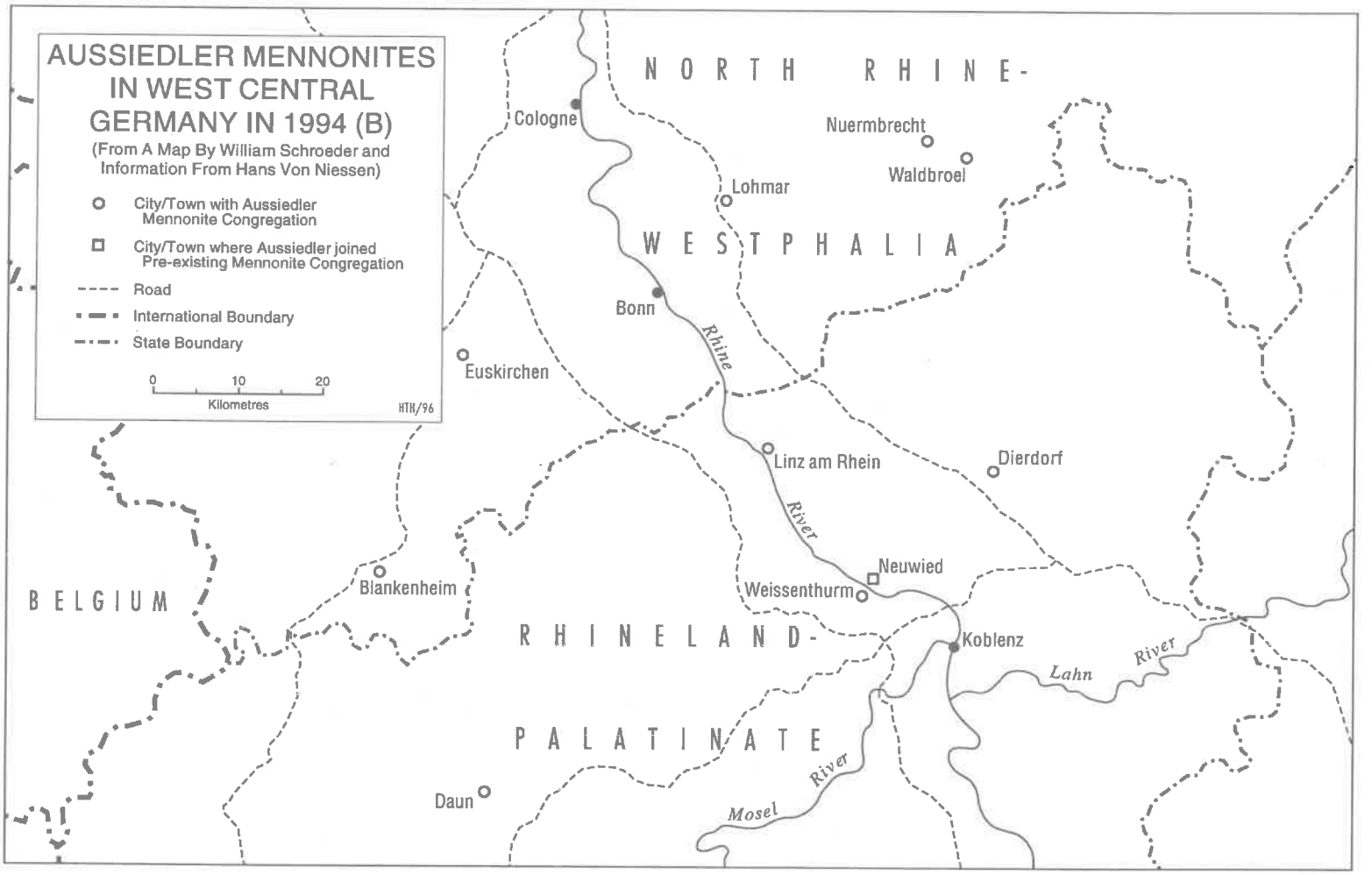

MANITOBA and
SANTA CLARA COLONIES
56°20'W
Ruta Capitan Bado
Capitan Bado
Pedro Juan Caballero
Ruta No. 3
Aguaray-mi River
Lowe Farm (6½)
Waldheim (3½)
Reinfeld (4)
Rosenthal (6)
Schanzenfeld (8)
Gnadenfeld (10)
Gnadenthal (5)
Hochfeld (7)
Kronsgard (9)
Schoenthal (11)
Rosenhoff (104)
(104)
Blumenort (3)
COLONIA
Schoendorf (101)
Blumenthal (1½)
Neustaedt (102)
Rosenfeld (11½)
(¼12)
Weidenfeld (2)
Bachfeld (105)
(102)
(101)
Reinland (1)
Hoffnungsfeld (12)
(12½)
Neuendorf (1B)
Catalina River
Canguery River
Edenthal (103)
MEXICO
Rancho 0-68
Blumenfeld (13)
Camino Rancho 0-68
(14)
Coronel Oviedo
23°40'S
Clementina River
RIO VERDE COLONY
EAST PARAGUAY
Mennonite Village
Forest
Road
0
2
4
Kilometres
HTH/96

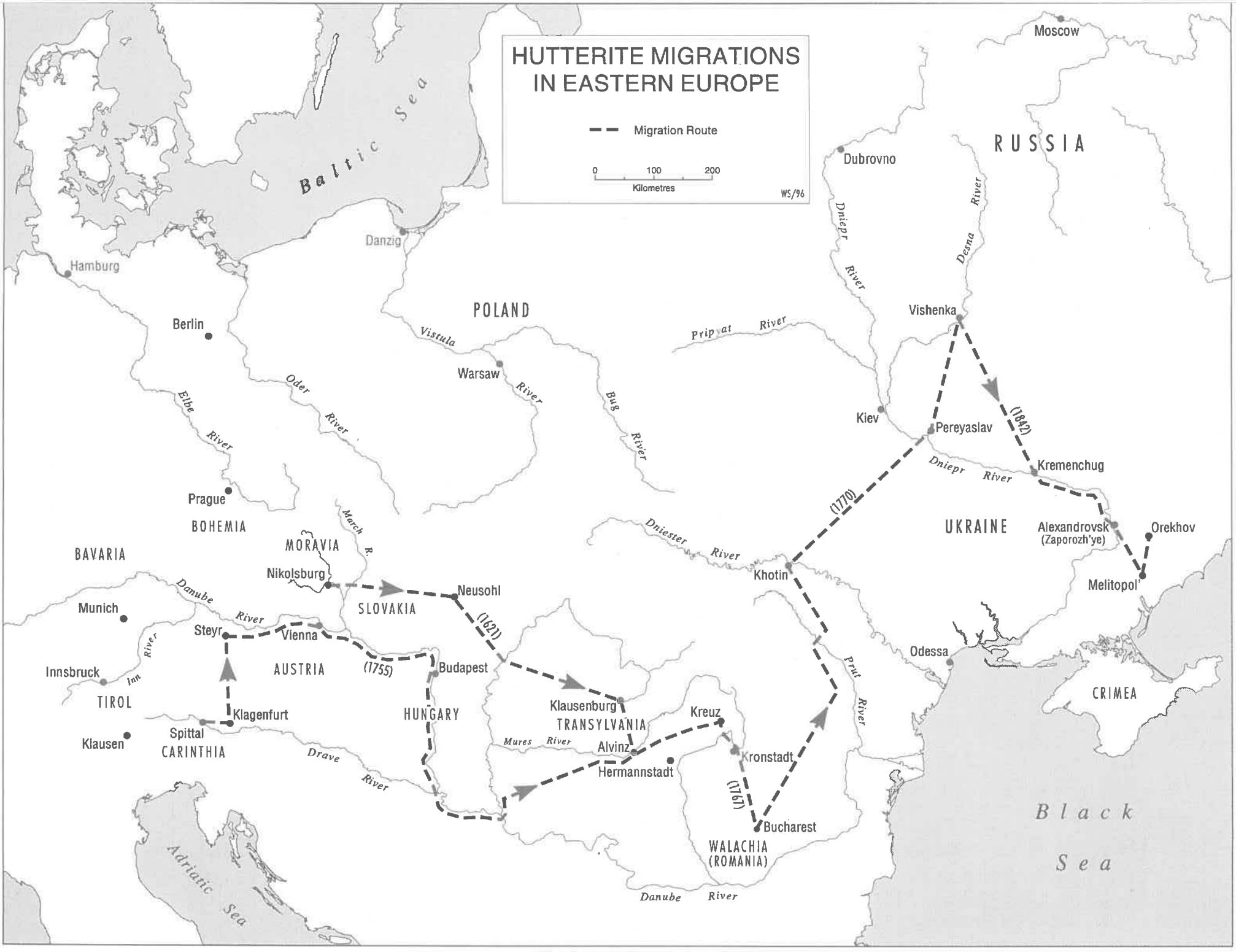

VOLENDAM COLONY
EAST PARAGUAY
Mennonite Village
Paraguayan Town
Mennonite Station
Original Volendam Boundary
Volendam Additional Land by 1992
0 2 4
Kilometres
WS/HTH/96
57°05'W
24° 12'S
National Telegraph Line
Paraguay River
Lopez Creek
Puerto Nuevo
Puerto Mbopicua
Rosario and Asunción
3400 hectares given to Paraguayans
87 homesteads for Paraguayans
Lichterfelde (3)
Waldhorst (4)
San Jose del Rosario
Waldheim (2)
Waldeck (6)
Tiefenbrunn (5)
Mariental (12)
Kirchheim (13)
Colony Ranch
Waldesruh (7)
Fredeshiem (8)
Grunewald (10)
Fuerstenwerder (9)
Rosenort (11)
Additional 8,000 hectares of land owned by Volendam east of the map.
57°05'W

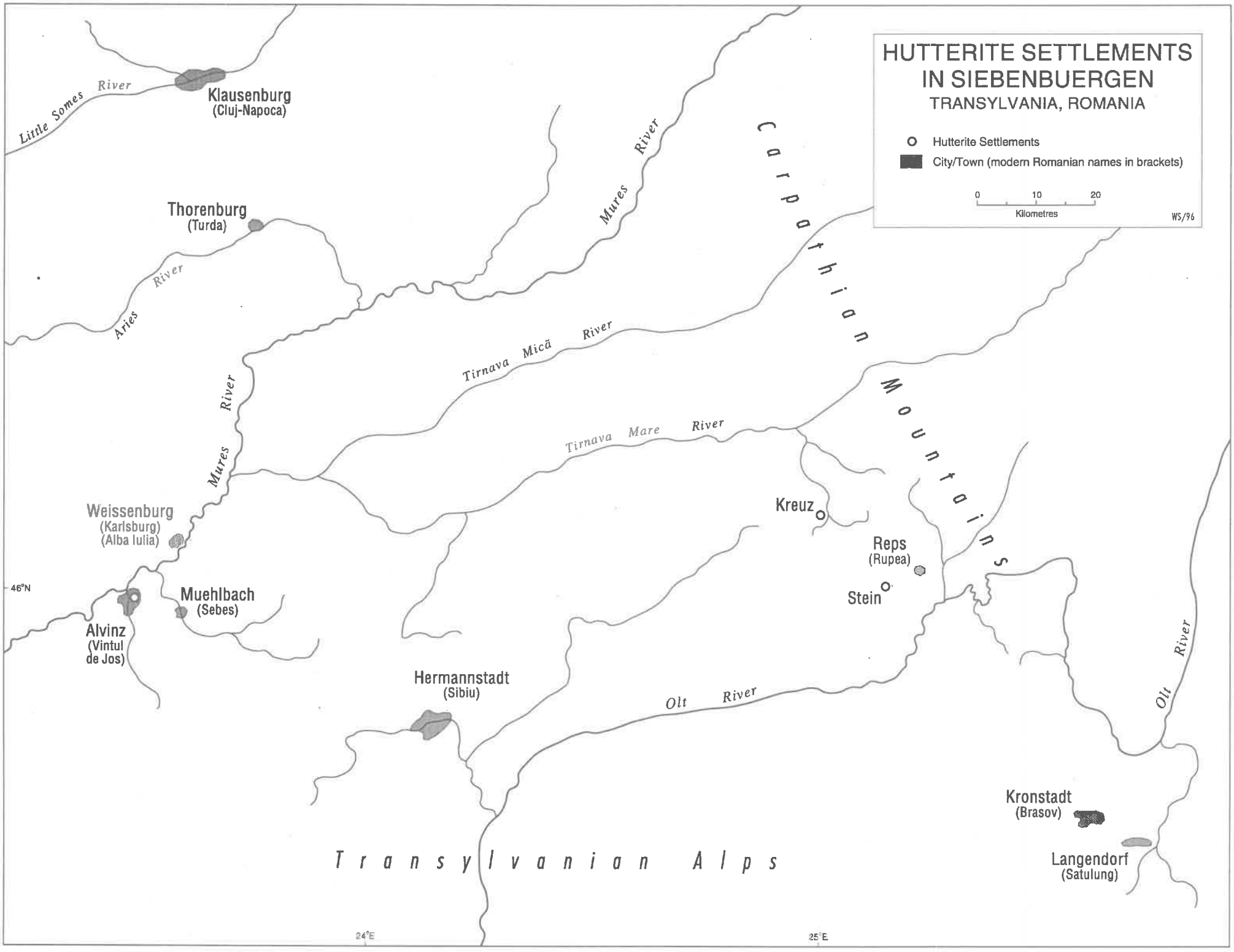
Arctic Ocean
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Baltic Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
Murmansk
Archangel
Leningrad
POLAND
WHITE RUSSIAN S.S.R.
Moscow
Kiev
UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
Vorkuta
Ural Mountains
Krasnovishersk
Solikamsk
Perm
SOVIET FEDERATED SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
Magadan
Sea of Okhotsk
Chegdomyn
Vladivostok
Lake Baykal
Irkutsk
Tomsk
Kemerovo
Novosibirsk
Omsk
Barnaul
Slavgorod
Grishovka
Protassovo
Neu Samara
Orenburg
Orsk
Kustanay
Martuk
Shchuchinsk
Pavlodar
Tselinograd
KAZAKH S. S. R.
Karaganda
Dzhezkazgan
Aral Sea
Lake Balkhash
Dzhetisai
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
TURKEY
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
UZBEK S.S.R.
TURKMEN S.S.R.
Dzhambul
Alma Ata
Tashkent
Frunze
Tokmak
KIRGHIZ S.S.R.
Dushanbe
TADZHIK S.S.R.
Kumsangir
MONGOLIA
CHINA
MENNONITES IN THE U.S.S.R. ABOUT 1970
City or Area with Significant Mennonite Population
International Boundary
Inter S.S.R. Boundary
0 400 800
Kilometres
HTH/96

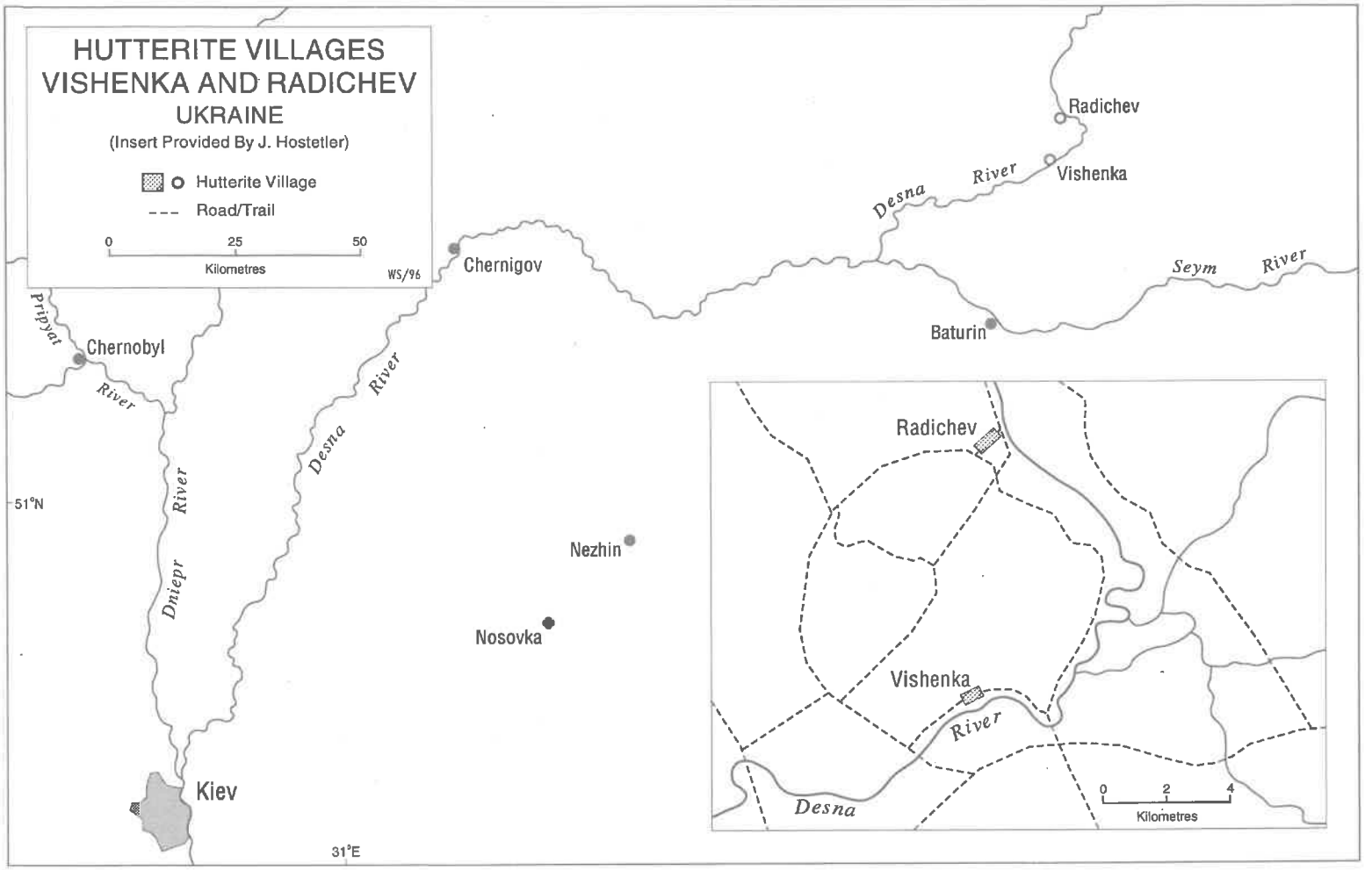
AUSSIEDLER MENNONITES IN GERMANY IN1994
(From A Map By William Schroeder And Information From Hans Von Niessen)
City/Town with Aussiedler Mennonite Congregation
City/Town where Aussiedler joined pre-existing Mennonite Congregation
International Boundary
State Boundary
(For details of A and B see following maps)
0 50 100
Kilometres
HTH/96
DENMARK
Baltic Sea
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
Elmshorn
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA
Elbe
Bremen
Cloppenburg
LOWER SAXONY
Weser
POLAND
Oder River
BRANDENBURG
Wolfsburg
Berlin
Potsdam
NETHERLANDS
Ems River
Hannover
Rhine River
A
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA
SAXONY-ANHALT
Goettingen
Rhine
Cologne
Bonn
B
Leipzig
SAXONY
Dresden
THURINGIA
Bebra
Bad Hersfeld
Fulda
BELGIUM
HESSE
RHINELAND-PALATINATE
Frankfurt
LUX.
Rhaunen
SAARLAND
Frankenthal
Heidelberg
Nuernberg
Rothenburg
CZECH REPUBLIC
Karlsruhe
Backnang
Stutensee
BAVARIA
Regensburg
Stuttgart
Danube River
FRANCE
BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG
Augsburg
Munich
Freiburg
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA

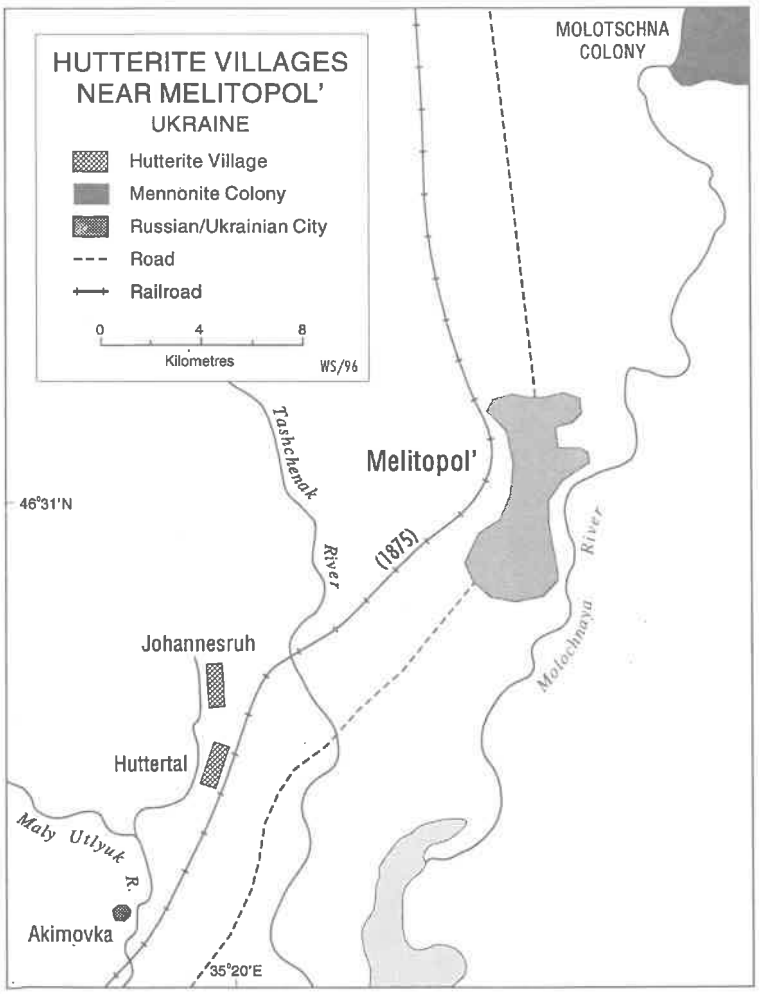

AUSSIEDLER MENNONITES IN NORTH CENTRAL GERMANY IN 1994 (A)
(From A Map By William Schroeder and Information From Hans Von Niessen)
City/Town with Aussiedler Mennonite Congregation
City/Town where Aussiedler joined Pre-existing Mennonite Congregation
Road
State Boundary
0 10 20
Kilometres
HTH/96
LOWER SAXONY
Espelkamp
Petershagen
Bad Essen
Luebbecke
Preussisch-Oldendorf
Minden
Osnabrueck
Buende
Bad Oeynhausen
Kalletal
Dissen
Halle
Bielefeld
Bad Salzuflen
Lemgo
Lage
Barntrup
Ems River
Harsewinkel
Muenster
Warendorf
Beelen
Oerlinghausen
Detmold
Horn-Bad Meinberg
Schieder-Schwalenberg
Rheda-Wiedenbrueck
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA
Weser River
Brakel
Beckum
Hamm

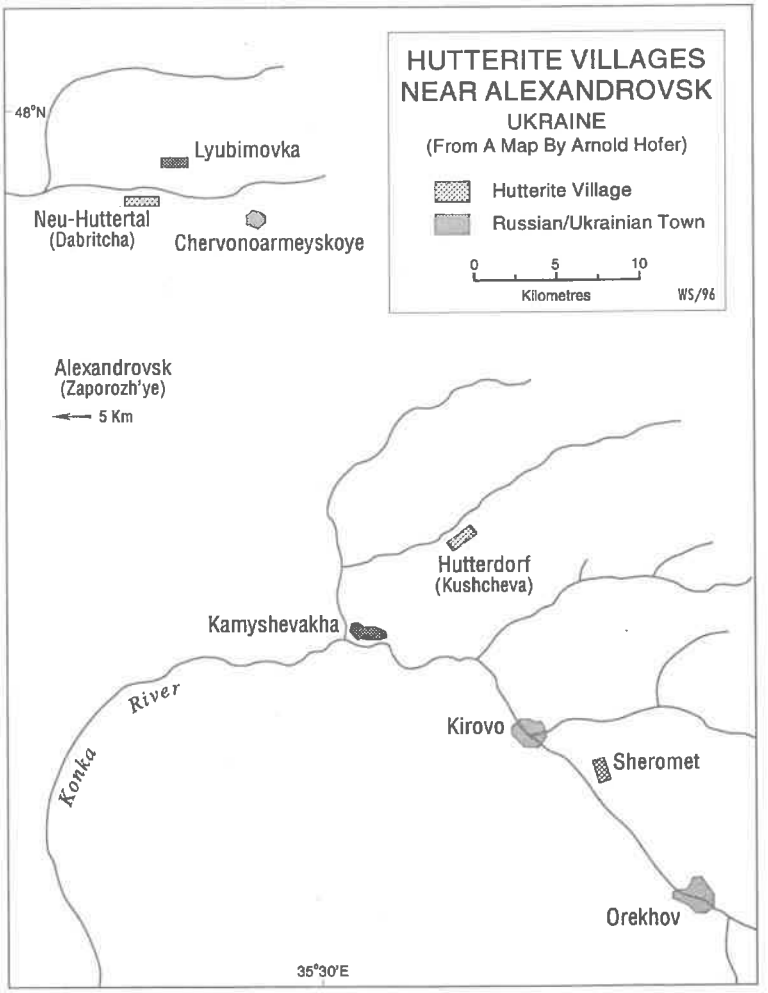

AUSSIEDLER MENNONITES IN WEST CENTRAL GERMANY IN 1994 (B)
(From A Map By William Schroeder and Information From Hans Von Niessen)
City/Town with Aussiedler Mennonite Congregation
City/Town where Aussiedler joined Pre-existing Mennonite Congregation
Road
International Boundary
State Boundary
0 10 20
Kilometres
HTH/96
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA
Cologne
Nuermbrecht
Waldbroel
Lohmar
Bonn
Rhine River
Euskirchen
Linz am Rhein
Dierdorf
Neuwied
Weissenthurm
Blankenheim
BELGIUM
RHINELAND-PALATINATE
Koblenz
Lahn River
Mosel River
Daun


HUTTERITE MIGRATIONS
IN EASTERN EUROPE
Migration Route
0 100 200
Kilometres
WS/96
Baltic Sea
Moscow
RUSSIA
Dubrovno
Dniepr River
Desna River
Danzig
Hamburg
Berlin
POLAND
Vistula
Pripyat River
Vishenka
Warsaw River
Bug River
Oder River
Elbe River
Kiev
Pereyaslav
(1842)
Kremenchug
Dniepr River
Prague
BOHEMIA
March R.
(1770)
UKRAINE
Alexandrovsk
(Zaporozh'ye)
Orekhov
Dniester River
MORAVIA
BAVARIA
Nikolsburg
Khotin
Melitopol'
Danube River
Neusohl
SLOVAKIA
Munich
(1621)
Steyr
Vienna
Odessa
Prut River
Inn River
Innsbruck
AUSTRIA
(1755)
Budapest
CRIMEA
TIROL
Klagenfurt
HUNGARY
Klausenburg
Kreuz
TRANSYLVANIA
Klausen
Spittal
CARINTHIA
Mures River
Alvinz
Kronstadt
Drave River
Hermannstadt
(1767)
Bucharest
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
WALACHIA
(ROMANIA)
Danube River


HUTTERITE SETTLEMENTS
IN SIEBENBUERGEN
TRANSYLVANIA, ROMANIA
Hutterite Settlements
City/Town (modern Romanian names in brackets)
0
10
20
Kilometres
WS/96
Little Somes River
Klausenburg
(Cluj-Napoca)
Thorenburg
(Turda)
Aries River
Mures River
Tirnava Micã River
Tirnava Mare River
Carpathian Mountains
Weissenburg
(Karlsburg)
(Alba Iulia)
Muehlbach
(Sebes)
Alvinz
(Vintul de Jos)
Hermannstadt
(Sibiu)
Olt River
Kreuz
Reps
(Rupea)
Stein
Kronstadt
(Brasov)
Langendorf
(Satulung)
Transylvanian Alps
46°N
24°E
25°E


HUTTERITE VILLAGES
VISHENKA AND RADICHEV
UKRAINE
(Insert Provided By J. Hostetler)
Hutterite Village
Road/Trail
0 25 50
Kilometres
WS/96
Radichev
Vishenka
Desna River
Chernigov
Seym River
Baturin
Pripyat River
Chernobyl
Desna River
Dnepr River
51°N
Nezhin
Nosovka
Kiev
31°E
Radichev
Vishenka
Desna River
0 2 4
Kilometres


HUTTERITE VILLAGES
NEAR MELITOPOL'
UKRAINE
Hutterite Village
Mennonite Colony
Russian/Ukrainian City
Road
Railroad
0 4 8
Kilometres
WS/96
MOLOTSCHNA
COLONY
Melitopol'
Tashchenak River
(1875)
Molochnaya River
46°31'N
Johannesruh
Huttertal
Maly Utlyuk R.
Akimovka
35°20'E


HUTTERITE VILLAGES
NEAR ALEXANDROVSK
UKRAINE
(From A Map By Arnold Hofer)
Hutterite Village
Russian/Ukrainian Town
0 5 10
Kilometres
WS/96
48°N
Lyubimovka
Neu-Huttertal
(Dabritcha)
Chervonoarmeyskoye
Alexandrovsk
(Zaporozh'ye)
5 Km
Hutterdorf
(Kushcheva)
Kamyshevakha
Konka River
Kirovo
Sheromet
Orekhov
35°30'E

HUTTERITE COLONIES IN CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA
Region with Hutterite Colonies
Miles
0 200 400
0 200 400
Kilometres
HTH/96
Great Slave Lake
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Hudson Bay
Lake Athabasca
CANADA
Peace River
ALBERTA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
Nelson River
QUEBEC
Edmonton
Prince Albert
Saskatchewan River
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Winnipegosis
Lake Manitoba
Calgary
Saskatoon
Vancouver
Regina
Lethbridge
Swift Current
Brandon
Winnipeg
ONTARIO
Thunder Bay
Spokane
WASHINGTON
Missouri River
Red River
NORTH DAKOTA
Fargo
Lake Superior
Helena
MONTANA
Bismarck
MINNESOTA
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Billings
OREGON
Boise
IDAHO
St. Paul
Minneapolis
WISCONSIN
Toronto
Mississippi River
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING
Pierre
Sioux Falls
Milwaukee
Detroit
Lake Erie
UNITED STATES
Sioux City
IOWA
Chicago
NEBRASKA
Omaha
Des Moines
Missouri River
NEVADA
Cheyenne
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
UTAH
Lincoln

WORLD

WORLD ORIENTATION MAP
(Page l)

The World map shows the main areas of Mennonite activities to be detailed subsequently. Beginning with Europe, the cradle of the Reformation and of the Anabaptist movement, the maps particularly emphasize central and northern Europe. From there the scene shifts to Russia, concentrating initially on Ukraine, but also showing such areas as the Caucasus, the Urals, central Russia and even the Far East. North America was the target of a number of migrations, our particular interest being the central provinces and states. From there the trail leads southwards, to Mexico, Belize and central South America.

EUROPE

LAND OF THE REFORMATION
(Page 2)

North western and central Europe were the cradle of the Reformation.

John Huss (1369-1415), the Bohemian reformer, was dean of the theological faculty and taught and preached in Prague. He was burned at the stake as a martyr in Constance.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) was born in Saxony, obtained some of his education in Erfurt, then was appointed as professor at the newly established University of Wittenberg. On October 31, 1517, he posted his 95 Theses for debate on the door of the local church. On April 17, 1521, he defended his beliefs and writings before the emperor and assembled officials at Worms.

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) studied in Basel, Bern and Vienna. After a number of other appointments he was assigned as parish priest at the *Grossmuenster* in Zurich. Here he started to preach and teach reform. Using the city council as a means of achieving desired change, he used it to institute reform but also to persecute those who did not think he had gone far enough. Zwingli died in battle in 1531 as chaplain of an army fighting against Catholic forces.

Anabaptist reform in Switzerland began with a number of students of Zwingli, among them Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz. Seeing that Zwingli did not consistently follow up his theology with actual reforms, debates and increasing tension followed. This was climaxed by a baptism of adult believers by the "radicals" on January 21, 1525, in Zurich.

Balthasar Hubmaier was one of the radical Anabaptists who, as a result of persecution in Switzerland and south Germany, travelled east to Moravia. Here membership in the group grew rapidly, with congregations in various localities including Nikolsburg. At Austerlitz and Bruenn (Brno) the Anabaptists founded settlements on a communal basis. In time persecution became very intense in this area, so that few Anabaptists remained.

Menno Simons (1496 - 1561) was born in Witmarsum, Friesland. After his conversion in 1536 he gradually became the recognized leader of the Anabaptists in northern Europe.

Martin Bucer (1491-1551) and Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541) were leaders of reform in Strassburg (Strasbourg). This city, during the reformation, was considered to be a tolerant and hospitable centre where even such radicals as Anabaptists could seek refuge.

John Calvin (1509-1564) was born in Noyon, Picardy, and studied for the priesthood and law. In 1533 he experienced a sudden conversion. After a brief stay in Basel and Geneva as well as Strassburg, he finally settled in Geneva in 1541. During the second half of the 16th century Calvinism replaced Lutheranism as the major challenge to the Catholic Church, becoming strong in many countries such as France, Scotland and even in central and eastern Europe.

SOUTH CENTRAL EUROPE
(Page 3)

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
(Page 4)

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), initiator of the Reformation in Switzerland, first systematically studied the New Testament as priest in Einsiedeln. January 1, 1519, he assumed the position of parish priest at the *Grossmuenster* of Zurich. Here he began using the Bible as text and advocating reform. A group of keen students gathered, and together they studied Greek classics and the Scriptures. Noticing that Zwingli moved cautiously, and only with consent of the Zurich city council, some disagreed with this approach. In October, 1523, and again January 17, 1525, there were public debates between Zwingli and some of his radical students.

On January 21, 1525, about a dozen men met for Bible study in the home of Felix Manz in Zurich. Georg Blaurock asked Conrad Grebel to baptize him; Georg then baptized all the others. With this act "anabaptism" was born.

By now Zwingli strongly opposed his radical students, so that both Reformed and Catholic cantons persecuted the Anabaptists. When armed conflict brewed between Catholic and Zurich forces, Zwingli went to battle as chaplain for his city. The Zurich forces were defeated at Kappel in 1531, with Zwingli among the casualties.

Conrad Grebel, one of Zwingli's students, turned critic, spent part of his youth in Grueningen where his father Jacob was magistrate for a time. Conrad attended lectures at the universities in Basel, then Vienna and Paris. Back in Zurich as a student of Zwingli he in time became one of the radicals who felt the reformation was moving too slowly. He began preaching in centres such as Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Grueningen and Appenzell. St. Gallen was especially responsive. Grebel baptized a huge throng in the nearby Sitter River on April 9, 1525. He died of the plague in Maienfeld, August, 1526.

Georg Blaurock was born in Bonaduz, educated in Leipzig, then appointed vicar in Trin. Joining the radicals in Zurich, he participated in the original baptism of 1525. He was active in Zollikon, Bern, Biel, Appenzell and the Tirol. Georg was burned at the stake September 6, 1529, near Klausen in Austria.

Felix Manz, illegitimate son of a priest of the Zurich *Grossmuenster*, was well trained in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He was originally one of Zwingli's students. It was in his home that the first adult baptism occurred in 1525. His evangelistic work, sometimes together with Blaurock, concentated on Zurich, Zollikon, Chur, Appenzell and Grueningen. Imprisoned for sedition, Manz was the first Anabpatist to die for his faith at the hands of Protestants. He was drowned in the Limmat River on January 5, 1527.

Michael Sattler was born in Staufen near Freiburg, and in time entered the monastery of St. Peter, also near Freiburg. There he studied the Pauline epistles, left the Catholic Church, then departed from the Hapsburg territory of Ferdinand of Austria to the relative safety of Switzerland. Converted to Anabaptism, he began preaching near Zurich. Expelled from the region he in time travelled to Strassburg, where Bucer and Capito were more tolerant leaders of the reformation. Going back to Germany he made Horb the centre of his activities. Sattler participated in the conference of Anabaptists held at Schleitheim near Schaffhausen on February 24, 1527. He likely wrote most of the text of the resulting "Schleitheim Confession". Returning to Horb he was imprisoned by the authorities of Rottenburg. Horb was presumed too sympathetic, so Sattler was transferred to a prison in the more

secluded town of Binsdorf. Invited to send two representatives to the trial, the Catholic University of Tuebingen refused to do so. Nonetheless after a predetermined trial, Sattler was executed after torture on May 27, 1527.

Wilhelm Reublin, native of Rottenburg, attended the University of Freiburg. He lost his position as priest at St. Albans in Basel because of his radical demands for reform. Coming to Zurich, he early on was one of Zwingli's most radical followers. Expelled from Zurich in 1525 because he practiced rebaptism, he preached in Schaffhausen, Waldshut (where he baptized Hubmaier), Strassburg and Rottenburg. Arrested upon his return to Strassburg, he travelled to Moravia where he ministered to the Anabaptist communities of Austerlitz and Auspitz as well as to the Hutterites. He likely died in Moravia sometime after 1559.

Balthasar Hubmaier was born in Friedberg, studied in Augsburg, Freiburg and Ingolstadt. He taught school in Schaffhausen, then in time became vice-rector of the university at Ingolstadt and preacher in Regensburg. His next position at Waldshut brought him closer to Anabaptist influence, which in time he embraced. Austrian Hapsburg power eventually forced him to leave, so he subsequently worked in Schaffhausen, then around Nikolsburg. He was executed March 10, 1528 in Vienna after a week of torture.

Hans Denck, born in Upper Bavaria, was educated in the universities of Ingolstadt and Basel. Rector of the St. Sebald School of Nuernberg, he became increasingly critical of Lutheran reform in that city, and was expelled in 1525. In the autumn of that year he obtained a position to teach Greek and Latin in Augsburg. In 1526 he was baptized by Hubmaier, and thereafter became one of the most prominent Anabaptists of southern Germany. Moving to Strassburg, he had a disputation with Bucer. Labelled by his opponent "the pope of the Anabaptists", he was expelled from the city in 1526. Thereafter Denck travelled, preaching and writing as he went, to Worms, Basel, Zurich, Augsburg, Nuernberg, Ulm and finally Basel again. There he died of the plague in November, 1527.

Hans Hut, native of Thuringia, was a book-binder, but also travelled widely distributing pamphlets supporting the Lutheran Reformation. In his travels he met Thomas Muentzer, and was especially impressed by his views of the second coming of Christ. After the defeat of the peasants in the Peasants' War he fled to Augsburg, where he became one of the first converts of Hans Denck. Still emphasizing his chiliastic views he set out on a missionary journey to Franconia, Austria and Moravia. Further travels included Nicholsburg, Vienna, Steyr and Salzburg. Imprisoned in Augsburg, he died in his cell on December 6, 1527.

Pilgram Marpeck, city engineer in Rattenberg, Tirol, lost his position soon after he became an Anabaptist in 1527. He and his family sought refuge in Strassburg in 1528, where his disputations with Bucer show that he was one of the leading Anabaptists in the area. The next 12 years he wandered, then settled in Austerlitz, Moravia in 1540. Unsuccessful in uniting the various Anabaptist groups, he reached for the pen, and together with others, authored a stream of publications. The last 11 years of his life Pilgram spent as city engineer in Augsburg, where he died in 1556. Marpeck's view of Scripture, with the Old Testament as foundation, but the New Testament centred around Christ the essential element, was an important contribution to Anabaptist thought.

Jacob Hutter was born in Moos, went to school in Bruneck, then travelled to Prague to learn the trade as hatter. Eventually he settled down in Spittal in Carinthia. He likely first became acquainted with Anabaptists in Klagenfurt, was baptized, and soon was confirmed as elder and evangelist, serving a congregation in Welsberg in the Puster Valley. Hutter visited Austerlitz in Moravia, and helped organize bands of refugees who were escaping from persecution in Tirol to the more tolerant atmosphere of Moravia. In time most of the Anabaptists in the region, whose particular variant included community of goods, accepted Hutter's leadership. Driven from their homes in Moravia by reluctant nobles who were forced to obey Ferdinand of Austria, a number, including Hutter, returned to the Tirol. Here he and his wife were captured in Klausen the night of November 19, 1535. After prolonged torture Jacob Hutter was publicly burned February 25, 1536, in Innsbruck.

While south central and south eastern Europe were areas of early Anabaptist activities, they, especially in regions controlled by the Austrian Hapsburgs, implemented serious persecution. Eberli Bolt, a preacher, burned at the stake May 29, 1525 in Schwyz, was the first Anabaptist to die for his faith. The last execution of Anabaptists in the Holy Roman Empire tool place in Egg, in the Vorarlberg region of Austria in 1618.

NORTH WESTERN EUROPE
(Page 5)

Either travelling up the Rhine River from Switzerland and southern Germany, or arising spontaneously, Anabaptist beliefs became widely accepted in north western Europe. Until at least 1550 this was the major reform movement in the region.

Melchior Hoffman, converted to Anabaptism in Strassburg, found a ready field for his newfound faith in Emden, East Friesland. From there he sent preachers into the Netherlands, then went there himself. Some of his lay preachers were Sicke Freerks, who went to Leeuwarden and Jan Volkertszoon Tripmaker, who visited Amsterdam. The Dutch, oppressed by the Holy Roman Emperor, seemed willing to listen.

When Hoffman was imprisoned in 1533, Jan Matthijs, a baker from Haarlem, sent out twelve apostles to various locations in the region. Those who went to Muenster found close agreement with the preachers of that city, so Matthijs moved there. He was determined to prepare for and even implement Christ's victorious return, with violence if necessary. Force brought counterforce, so the bishop of Muenster gathered an army and attacked the city. When Jan Matthijs was killed, Jan Leiden, who was even more extreme, declared that he was King David. After a prolonged siege, Muenster fell June 24, 1535.

Not all the Anabaptists in the region followed the militant leadership of the Muensterites. Obbe and Dirk Philips, sons of a priest in Leeuwarden, were baptized by apostles of Jan Matthijs, and Obbe was ordained an elder. Obbe's group carefully studied the Scriptures and rejected the use of force. In his ministry he ordained his brother Dirk, David Joris and Menno Simons as leaders.

Charles V, Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, tolerant of Luther in Germany because of political expediency, vented his wrath against reform in the Netherlands. Heretics were dangerous, and needed to be exterminated. Anabaptists felt the full impact, between 1,500 and 2,500 being martyred. Even when the men recanted after torture, they were beheaded, the women were mercifully drowned!

Anabaptism originally flourished in Flanders, for example in Ghent, Brugge and Ypres, but persecution was particularly brutal in this region. At least 110 Anabaptists were tortured, then executed in the castle at Ghent. Many moved north to the more independent and more tolerant West Friesland. Hans de Ries joined them and settled in Alkmaar, where he helped draft the first known Dutch Mennonite confession of faith. Much of his energy was spent trying to unify the various groups of Anabaptists. The last Dutch martyr died in 1574. With complete Dutch independence, William of

Orange offered religious toleration which soon benefited the Anabaptists.

As mentioned earlier, Emden was for a time headquarters of Melchior Hoffman, and Menno Simons spent considerable time there between 1536 and 1544. A number of major consultations were held in Emden later in the century.

For some time, a tolerant bishop of Cologne allowed reform in the region along the lower Rhine. Menno Simons spent time there after 1544, but with a new appointee as bishop, circumstances became more difficult. Schleswig and Holstein, with sympathetic noblemen, became a destination for the sober and industrious Mennonites. Dutch farmers knew how to reclaim marshy land, and so were appreciated, even protected. Menno Simons spent the last years of his life in this region, first in Wismar, then in Bad Oldesloe and Wuestenfelde. Congregations were founded around Luebeck and Hamburg.

Hans Hut, originally from Thuringia, brought the Anabaptist message back to his home territory in 1526. With persecution the converts fled the area but settled in surrounding regions. In a few years congregations sprang up in Saxony and Hesse. Melchior Rink, chaplain at Hersfeld, became the leader of the movement, centred in the small village of Sorga. In time he became pastor in a village south of Eisenach. Challenged by Landgrave Philip of Hesse he chose, despite threats, to continue to work in the area until he was imprisoned for life. In the 1530s Hesse itself was the centre of a flourishing Anabaptist movement. In time, however, the leaders were convinced that joining the official Reformed Church was the lesser of possible evils.

MENNO SIMONS
(Pages 5 to 8)

Menno Simons was born in Witmarsum, Friesland, in 1496. He studied for the priesthood, likely in the Premonstratensian (Norbertine) Order, then in 1524 accepted his first appointment as priest in Pingjum, two kilometres from his own home. He was the assistant at Pingjum, and in a relatively comfortable position. But a series of occurrences eventually caused a crisis for Menno, and in time a radical reorientation of his life.

Menno began doubting the mass around 1526, finding some difficulty with the assumption that the bread and the wine at the Lord's Supper actually turned into the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. At the same time Anabaptists in the area impressed him, not only with their theology, but by their lives and deaths. On March 20, 1531, Sicke Freerks was condemned to death in Leeuwarden because he had been "rebaptized"; but Sicke Freerks was known to be a pious and God-fearing man.

Despite inner conflict Menno continued as a priest, accepting the position as pastor in Witmarsum. Another episode shocked and affected Menno Simons even further. A number of radical Anabaptists took refuge in a monastery in Bolsward, just four kilometres south east of Witmarsum. They were surrounded and all slaughtered by government troops on April 7, 1535. Menno's brother was among the 300 who died. Menno's conversion is usually stated to be about April or May, 1535, near the time of this bloody debacle. He finally made a public statement of his own Anabaptist stance on January 30, 1536, renouncing his priesthood.

Menno hid for a number of months, but remaining in the area, he stayed at the home of Hermann and Gerrit Jansz, who lived about one kilometre outside of Witmarsum. Their place was one of a cluster of four cottages, among which stood a shed which was used as a secret meeting place. Menno is said to have been baptized in that place, there he was married to Gertrude, his faithful helpmate for many years, and there he first preached as an Anabaptist evangelist.

When the authorities discovered where Menno was hiding, they demanded that Hermann and Gerrit Jansz either renounce their error or be condemned to death. Fortunately all escaped to the Groningen area. In Groningen Menno Simons was ordained as elder by his newly found fellow pilgrims in faith, likely in 1537. From then on Menno was a marked man, in time Emperor Charles V even put a price of 100 gulden on his head. Menno, his wife and three children moved repeatedly, never really putting down roots for many years. Even helping the family was considered to be a capital offense. In 1539 Tjaert Reyerts was tortured in Leeuwarden and placed on the wheel for having hosted Menno. Quirinus Pieters was burned at the stake in Groningen in 1545 for having been baptized by Menno Simons six years previously.

In 1543 Menno fled to Emden, in 1545 to Cologne, then in 1546 to Wismar. His stay in Wismar from 1546-1554 was by and large peaceful. During this time he travelled far and wide, preaching and teaching all the way from Flanders to the Vistula Delta. In time, however, the government and church authorities in Wismar combined to evict all Anabaptists from the area. Menno left the region several months before the edict took effect on November 11, 1554.

Bartholomew von Ahlefeld had participated in a military campaign against Charles V in 1542. In the course of his travels he met and had been impressed by Anabaptists in Juelich and Antwerp. When Bartholomew inherited the Fresenburg estate in 1543 he invited the Anabaptists to live in his territory. This Menno Simons and many other Anabaptists did in 1554. Menno moved to the village of Wuestenfelde, just north of Bad Oldesloe. Despite repeated demands that he expel them, von Ahlefeld continued to welcome the Anabaptists to his domain.

All his active life after conversion Menno Simons preached and baptized, counselled and admonished the congregations of Anabaptists across northern Europe. He also participated in public debates in Emden and Luebeck. He wrote extensively, publishing about 24 books and pamphlets. With the help of von Ahlefeld he established a printing press in Fresenburg, located between Wuestenfelde and Bad Oldesloe. Perhaps his best known book was *Foundations of Christian Doctrine*, first published in 1540, in which he outlined many of the principal tenets of Anabaptist faith. The printing press helped him to make the work of publishing much more effective. Menno's influence through his writings is attested to by the fact that Philip II of Spain put his books on the list of forbidden reading on December 10, 1557.

Menno Simons died on January 13, 1561. He was buried in the garden behind his cottage in Wuestenfelde. His wife and two of his children had predeceased him.

In many regions the Anabaptists were in time called Mennists, Mennonists or Mennonites, recognizing the important part Menno Simons had played in the development of this movement.

NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM AND LUXEMBOURG
(Page 6)

This is a modern map of the Lowlands area, showing the region where the Anabaptists lived, including Menno Simons. Flanders in the south, to Friesland and Groningen in the north, were significant in the history of these people. Provinces shown are now much the same as they were early in the 16th century. They are significant in that the treatment of the various religious groups, including the Anabaptists, depended to a large degree on the convictions or policies of the local ruler. The Dutch United Netherlands of the north were as a whole much more tolerant than the Spanish who for a time controlled the southern areas, including Flanders.

Menno Simons was born and later was pastor at Witmarsum. His first assignment as priest was in Pingjum. Sicke Freerks, be-

cause of his Anabaptist beliefs, was condemned to death in Leeuwarden on March 20, 1531. A group of 300 radical Anabaptists took refuge in a monastery in Bolsward, and were surrounded and slaughtered by government troops on April 7, 1535.

In later years under the government of the United Netherlands conditions improved for the Anabaptists, the last recorded martyr dying in 1574. In Flanders, however, where the Spanish inquisitors held sway, persecution continued. Particularly after 1550 most Anabaptists left Flanders, fleeing to England and across northern Europe even as far as Danzig. A considerable number sought the greater freedom of the Dutch provinces to the north, especially Friesland.

Unfortunately there were persistent differences between the Flemish refugees and the local Frisian Anabaptists, mostly on very superficial grounds. The split between these groups persisted among some Mennonites, for example those in Russia, well into the nineteenth century.

In 1666 there were 4,856 baptized male members in Mennonite congregations in Friesland, Mennonites likely representing about 22 per cent of the total population. In 1838 the 12,870 souls represented about five percent, and in 1949 they had dropped to three percent.

PINGJUM WITMARSUM AND ENVIRONS
(Page 7)

WITMARSUM
(Page 7)

Pingjum and Witmarsum are situated on the western edge of Friesland, close to where the dike separating the Waddenzee from the IJsselmeer joins the coast.

WITMARSUM

Witmarsum was the birthplace of Menno Simons, the place of his second pastorate, and the place where he was converted to the Anabaptist faith.

The monument honouring Menno Simons is on the site of the shed (*scheune*) where he was baptized, was married, and then preached. The "Shed Church" was replaced by another house of worship in 1828, then in 1877 that church building was also taken down. Mennonites worshipped steadily at that site from 1536 until 1877. The monument was erected there in 1879.

Menno Simons' House may be where Menno was actually born; certainly tradition has it that he lived there as a child. In the 19th century it was used as a manse for the pastor of the "Shed Church".

The Dutch Reformed Church was formerly a Catholic Church, where Menno Simons served as priest from 1531-36.

The Menno Simons Memorial Church was built in the centre of Witmarsum after the "Shed Church" was torn down in 1877. The present structure replaced the old one in 1960.

PINGJUM

Menno Simons' first assignment as priest was in Pingjum, where he was the assistant.

BAD OLDESLOE AND ENVIRONS
(Page 8)

Anabaptists often fled from one area to the next in northern Europe, finding refuge mainly in territories where the ruler of the region was somewhat tolerant.

Bartholomew von Ahlefeld had participated in a military campaign against Charles V in 1542. In the course of his travels he met and had been impressed by Anabaptists. When he inherited the Fresenburg estate in the Holstein area in 1543, he invited the Anabaptists to live within his borders. When Menno Simons and other Anabaptists were forced to leave Wismar in 1554, they accepted this invitation. Menno moved to the village of Wuestenfelde, just north of Bad Oldesloe. Despite repeated demands by Christian III, King of Denmark, and his brother, Prince Adolf, von Ahlefeld refused to expel the Anabaptists from his estate. He even helped Menno Simons establish a printing press, located between Bad Oldesloe and Wuestenfelde.

Wuestenfelde was the last home of Menno Simons. He died there in 1561 and was buried in the garden behind his home. The village was destroyed 1627-29 during the Thirty Years War, so the exact location of his grave is not known. A monument honouring Menno Simons was erected in the area in 1902 by the Mennonite congregation of Hamburg, and was finally dedicated in 1906. It was moved to the Menno Cottage in 1957. Another small stone was erected at Wuestenfelde in 1957.

The Menno Cottage (*Menno Kate*) was the site of the printing press used by Menno Simons. The Menno Linde is reputed to have been planted by Menno Simons, and while hard to prove, this is at least botanically feasible.

Altfresenburg was the residence of Bartholomew von Ahlefeld. The Mennonite Home for the Aged is a relatively recent development.

CENTRAL EUROPE AROUND 1550
(Page 9)

The Holy Roman Empire was founded by Otto I of Germany in 962 A.D. To some extent an attempt to recreate the empire of Charlemagne, it consisted of a collection of kingdoms largely in Germany and northern Italy. In the fourteenth century a group of German princes achieved the right to elect the emperor. By the sixteenth century the seven German Imperial Electors had considerable power and as a result exerted significant independent influence. Emperors, most often Hapsburgs, were Catholic, so that the general attitude toward the Reformation, especially the more radical wing, was to persecute. This was tempered in areas where the powerful electors, for various reasons, chose to protect their own citizens.

Charles V, a Hapsburg, was elected as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. It was he who first came into conflict with the Reformation, as exemplified by the Imperial Diet at Worms. Persecution was particularly acute in areas where staunch Catholic monarchs directly controlled the region. The Tirol and Moravia came under the direct rule of the Hapsburgs in 1526, so here the treatment of Protestants took a decided turn for the worse.

After the Anabaptist beginnings in Zurich in 1525, persecution by both Catholics and Protestants forced the radicals to flee in all directions. They preached and baptized wherever they went in the Swiss Confederation, Tirol and southern Germany. Some, for example Balthasar Hubmaier, travelled east to Moravia, where congregations sprang up. A branch, followers of Jacob Hutter, founded settlements on a communal basis in this region. Hesse, Thuringia and Saxony were also receptive to the Anabaptist message.

Either as a result of being spread down the Rhine River or arising spontaneously, Anabaptism took hold in the Netherlands, particularly in Friesland. After an attempt by very radical chiliastic Anabaptists to form a kingdom on earth at Muenster, Menno Simons became the commonly recognized leader of the peaceful majority of Anabaptists in that region.

With increased persecution in the Netherlands, a number of Anabaptists found refuge in Schleswig and Holstein, where noblemen were sympathetic to these industrious and sober people. Menno Simons himself spent the last years of his life in this area.

Anabaptists also found refuge further east along the coast of the Baltic Sea. Beyond the reaches of the Holy Roman Empire, they were considered to be exemplary

settlers on the Vistula Delta, where their skill in draining marshes was useful. Mennonite congregations were established near Danzig and soon flourished.

HAMBURG-ALTONA
(Page 10)

ALTONA
(Page 10)

Hamburg and Altona, now actually one community, have always been two distinct political entities. Hamburg became an independent Hanseatic city in the late 13th century, and by 1600 had a population of 40,000. Neighbouring Altona, always much smaller, although immediately adjacent, was in Schleswig-Holstein. Under the rule of the Counts Schauenburg people from various reform movements, including Mennonites, were permitted entry. Population increased in the area so that in 1604 Altona became a market town. Rule of the region passed to the Danish crown in 1640, then to Prussia in 1863.

Mennonites were admitted to Altona by Count Ernst in 1601. They were permitted to establish themselves in the district called *Grosse Freiheit* (Great Freedom or Free Trade). Mennonites were allowed to participate in trades (therefore the term "Freedom"), to bury their dead, but had to conduct their services quietly. When the tribulations of the Thirty Years War struck Wuestenfelde farther north in Holstein (1627-29), many of the Fresenburg refugees settled in Altona. Until 1674 church services were held in a warehouse owned by one of the members, situated near *Grosse Freiheit* street. The first pastors of this congregation were men who had been ordained by Menno Simons himself. In 1674, using a contribution of five percent of the proceeds of the whaling industry for one year, a church was built on *Grosse Freiheit* street.

Mennonites were reasonably well tolerated in Hamburg and Altona, although periodically some restrictions were placed on them. This did not prevent internal conflicts from taking place. A group called *Dompelaars* (Dutch: immersionists or dunkers) whose main difference with the rest of the congregtion was that in addition to baptism by immersion and footwashing, they celebrated communion at night with unleavened bread. In 1708 royal permission was granted to build a Dompelaar church, also on *Grosse Freiheit* street, large enough to seat 300. One of the leading pastors of this group was the very popular Jacob Denner. After a number of decades of separate services the group gradually returned to the old church.

The original Mennonite church was burned down when the Swedes invaded the region in 1713, and a new church was erected in 1715. This was home for the congregation until a new church building, parish hall and parsonage were built on *Mennonitenstrasse* in 1915. The old building was used by the congregation as a children's mission until it was destroyed in an air raid during World War II. Currently housed in the new church is an extensive archival collection, as well as a library which was begun in 1747.

At first the congregation buried its dead in a Reformed church cemetery, then in 1678 it obtained its own plot of land. In 1840 this Mennonite cemetery near the church was filled, so members were buried elsewhere. The old cemetery was also bombed during World War II, so the stones that could be salvaged were moved to a new cemetery on Holstenkamp. The site of the old cemetery is now a children's playground.

THE VISTULA DELTA
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THE VISTULA LOWLANDS
(Page 12)

With repressive measures instituted in the Netherlands, Menno Simons and many other Anabaptists were forced to flee the area, finding a haven in the more tolerant regions of north east Germany and Poland. These areas included Schleswig-Holstein, but also as far down the coast as Danzig and Koenigsberg.

In the Vistula Delta region, land was marshy, requiring the expertise and hard work of dedicated farmers such as the Mennonites. With relative religious tolerance in the city of Danzig and the direct invitation of some of the noblemen who had estates in the area (for example Simon and Hans von Loysen), a significant number of Mennonites came to the Vistula Delta and the Vistula Lowlands from the 1530s and onward. The cost to the first generations was high, many dying of swamp fever (malaria), but with persistent hard work swampy marshes were turned into fertile farmland, and empty spaces into flourishing communities. Mennonites became increasingly involved in the business and cultural life of the major cities of the region. By the middle of the 18th century they were active in virtually every occupation; they were merchants, manufacturers, bankers, craftsmen, brewers or town labourers.

In the delta triangle Mennonites first developed an ethnic identity. Religious beliefs were consolidated, economic communities developed, even a common tongue, Low German (*Plautdietsch*) became the everyday working language. The tenacity with which Mennonites clung to some of their tenets of faith also extended to the official language used in church. It was not until well into the 18th century that High German replaced Dutch in the church services in the Danzig area.

A number of Polish kings reaffirmed the original privileges granted the Mennonites when they had first arrived. While John III in 1694 and August III in 1750 confirmed the privileges, there were still local regulations which limited the citizenship and curbed religious development. Mennonites were, for example, not allowed to build churches until the 18th century, and could not even become citizens of Danzig until the 19th century.

With the first partition of Poland in 1772 much of the area in which the Mennonites lived was transferred to the sovereignty of Prussia, under King Frederick the Great. After a delegation was sent to Potsdam, exemption from military service was again guaranteed on the condition that 5,000 taler be paid annually for upkeep of the cadet school at Kulm. While religious freedoms were upheld, economic restrictions still followed. By 1786 Mennonites were denied the right to purchase any new land. At this time there were about 12,000 living on the Vistula Delta, with another 1,000 in East Prussia.

Developments in Russia seemed to provide an answer to the worries of the Mennonites. Tsarina Catherine II of Russia published a manifesto in 1763 inviting foreign colonists to settle on land recently wrested from the Turks. This was followed by a personal visit by Georg von Trappe in 1786, then a return visit by two Mennonite delegates to Russia in 1787. These two, Jacob Hoeppner and Johann Bartsch, recommended emigration, and even chose a prime site for the initial settlement. The first group of six families set off in 1787, beginning the migration of about 400 families from the Vistula Delta during the years 1787-1797. One of the early groups, consisting of 50 people, celebrated the Easter morning service on March 22, 1788 at Bohnsack, then departed by wagon along muddy roads reaching Stutthof by nightfall. The first groups of settlers founded the Chortitza Colony in south Russia. Subsequent migrants founded the Molotschna Colony in 1804.

During the Napoleonic wars the Mennonites supported their country in any way compatible with their beliefs, and declared

their loyalty to the crown. When Frederick William III was retreating with his armies after the battles of Jena and Auerstedt in 1806, the Mennonites collected money and gave the king a gift of 30,000 taler. Abraham Nickel, deacon of the Schoensee congregation, was delegated to hand over the gift, and his wife presented the queen with a basket of butter. Even after the revolutions of 1848 Mennonite privileges were continued, but King Frederick William IV reminded them that other authorities might soon make those decisions.

Possibly again feeling somewhat uncomfortable, a further 250 families migrated to Russia between 1853 and 1860, founding Am Trakt and Alt Samara (Alexandertal) colonies.

With the establishment of the North German Federation in 1867, Bismark introduced legislation to make military service universal. Possibly as a result of a presentation by a delegation of church elders this was modified when actually passed into law in 1868 to allow alternative service. But by 1870-71 many Mennonites themselves had changed their orientation and served in the Franco-Prussian War. With this principle a number of other Mennonite distinctives were also gradually dropped, usually more quickly in the city churches of Danzig and Elbing.

With the Treaty of Versailles which ended World War I much of West Prussia was suddenly Polish territory. Montau, Gruppe, Schoensee, Wintersdorf (Przechovka) and Obernessau were in this region. Two-thirds of Prussian Mennonites were in the Free State of Danzig, economically tied to Poland. Mennonites had a difficult time, many farmers losing their land after it had been in their families for generations.

Hitler promised improvement in conditions with re-unification with Germany, and for a time during World War II this appeared to be true. But even during the war the Mennonites of the area suffered greatly. The church at Heubuden, for example, had over 200 members drafted into the armed forces, of which by 1944 a total of 100 had been killed, another 100 taken prisoner. With retreat of the German armies on the eastern front, the Russian armies reached the delta in January, 1945. Many Mennonites joined thousands of refugees to flee westwards, some were taken to Denmark and western Germany by ships, others travelled by land. A number died defending their homeland, others were simply overrun by the victorious Red Army. Many of those who did manage to escape remained in West Germany, some emigrated to Uruguay, others to Canada.

RUSSIA/SOVIET UNION

MIGRATION FROM THE VISTULA TO SOUTHERN RUSSIA

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With more stringent restrictions in the Vistula Delta area, particularly regarding the increase of land-holdings, the Mennonites started to look elsewhere for expansion. Tsarina Catherine II of Russia, in the meantime, had published a manifesto in 1763 inviting foreign colonists to help settle newly acquired lands. Catherine dispatched a special envoy, Georg von Trappe, to visit the Mennonites in the Danzig area in the summer of 1786. He challenged them to make Russia their new homeland.

The Mennonites sent two men, Jacob Hoeppner and Johann Bartsch, to investigate the possibilities. Assisted by Major Meier, who was appointed by Prince Gregor Potempkin, then governor general of New Russia, the two delegates inspected a large area of the southern part of his domain throughout the winter of 1786-87. They selected a region of land on the lower Dniepr River, close to the newly established city of Kherson. The site had good soil, excellent pasture and water supply, and access to nearby markets.

In April of 1787 Hoeppner and Bartsch outlined their requests to the Russian authorities. The Mennonites wanted recognition of their religious freedom. No military service was to be required, and no quartering of troops in their villages. Each family was to receive 65 dessiatines of arable land. The Mennonites were to have the right to harvest hay on a portion of Taran Island, and were reserved the use of some woodland on Kairo Island at the mouth of the Dniepr. They also wished to have exclusive fishing rights in the Dniepr adjacent to their land. The land was to be properly surveyed, and the government was to guarantee protection of the settlement. Funds for food and transportation were to be made available, loans were to be given until the first crop was harvested, as well as ten years of exemption from taxes.

The decree agreeing to these terms was drawn up in August, 1787, signed by Catherine the Great and Russian chancellor Berborodko, and made public in September. Georg von Trappe accompanied Hoeppner and Bartsch back to Danzig, where they were received with great enthusiasm in November of 1787.

Upon the return of Hoeppner and Bartsch from Russia many Mennonites applied to emigrate, the first group of six families leaving in 1787. Despite strong opposition by local Danzig and Prussian authorities, the trickle which began in 1787 became a stream the following years. Starting in February 1788, groups departed periodically. One group of 50 people, starting out on March 22, Easter Sunday, spent five weeks plodding along muddy roads and camping until it reached Riga. By the autumn of 1788 a total of 228 families arrived at Dubrovno in Russia, where they spent the winter.

In the spring of 1789 the travellers put much of their baggage on barges to float down the Dniepr, then continued their journey southward. When the lead group reached Kremenchug, Potempkin's headquarters, he informed them that it was not possible for the Mennonites to settle on the land Hoeppner and Bartsch had chosen. It was too near the zone of hostilities with the Turks. They would have to settle on an alternate site, along the banks of the Chortitza River. Potempkin just happened to own some of this land. The Mennonites did not welcome this change, since the Chortitza area did not measure up to the lowlands so carefully selected by Hoeppner and Bartsch.

Settlers arrived at their revised homeland in July, 1789, first setting up tents, some under a large oak tree near the Dniepr River, then in time moving out to their villages. Circumstances were aggravated by the looting of the baggage on the barges, by failure of the Russian government to live up to many of its financial obligations, but also by the disunity and lack of clear spiritual leadership within the group. By 1797 a total of about 400 families had left their Prussian homeland to settle on the steppes of Russia.

After the initial surge of Mennonite migration from the Vistula area in the late 1780s and 1790s, further restrictions imposed by Frederick William III of Prussia, and extended privileges announced by Tsar Paul I of Russia, conspired to encourage further emigration. An area of 120,000 dessiatines east of the Molochnaya River was designated for further Mennonite settlement.

In 1803, 193 families, consisting of 1,020 individuals, left the Elbing and Marienburg districts of Prussia. Many of these people had been able to sell their farms at good prices. They travelled with large canvas-upholstered wagons, drawn by four or six horses. Roads were primitive, so the journey took from five to seven weeks. To discourage these good farmers from leaving, the Prussian government imposed an exit tax amounting to 10% of their assets. The Russian government, on the other had, lured settlers with financial help in the form of interest free loans.

The first group spent the winter in the Chortitza Colony, then together with new

arrivals from Prussia moved onto their land on the east bank of the Molochnaya River in the spring of 1804.

Later groups of settlers were not always as well off as the original pioneers; some had to pull or push their carts the entire way. The Russian government did not continue its financial incentives beyond the first groups. After 1828 only those who could pay their own way were allowed to settle.

Eventually the total number of families to imigrate from Prussia to the Molotschna Colony likely exceeded 1,000.

MENNONITE COLONIES IN UKRAINE AND RUSSIA
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This map shows most of the major Mennonite colonies on a modern map of Ukraine and Russia. A few of the eastern colonies, such as Orenburg and Neu Samara still exist, although many Mennonites have recently emigrated to Germany as *Aussiedler*. The western colonies such as Chortitza and Molotschna, actually all those overrun by the German armies during World War II, no longer exist as significant concentrations of Mennonites.

Colonies established and dates of founding are as follows: Chortitza (1789), Volhynia (1801-12), Molotschna (1804), Am Trakt (1854), Alt Samara (1859), Crimea (1862), Kuban (1863), Borozenko (1865), Yazykovo (1869), Sagradovka (1872), Memrik (1885), Ignatyevo (1888), Neu Samara (1890), Ufa (1894), Orenburg (1894), Suvorovka (1894), Terek (1901), Arkadak (1910).

MENNONITE COLONIES IN SOUTHERN UKRAINE
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Mennonites emigrating directly from Prussia founded four colonies in Russia; Chortitza and Molotschna were in southern Ukraine, Am Trakt and Alt Samara (Alexandertal) in the Samara region. A whole series of daughter colonies was formed as expansion from the original settlements, especially by Chortitza and Molotschna; some of the daughter colonies themselves spawned further daughter colonies.

Principal Mennonite colonies located in southern Ukraine, in chronological order of their founding, listing year of establishment and source of settlers, are as follows: Chortitza (1789, Prussia), Molotschna (1804, Prussia), Bergthal (1836, Chortitza), Crimea (1862, mainly Molotschna), Fuerstenland (1864, Chortitza), Borozenko (1865, Molotschna), Schoenfeld (1868, mainly Molotschna), Yazykovo (1869, Chortitza), Nepluyevka (1870, Chortitza), Schlachtin and Baratov (1871, Chortitza), Sagradovka (1872, Molotschna), Memrik (1885, Molotschna), Ignatyevo (1888, Chortitza), Borissovo (1892, Chortitza).

ARKADAK COLONY
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In 1909 the Chortitza Colony, feeling that it needed to establish another daughter colony to help its landless citizens, began negotiations for the purchase of a tract of land just west of Arkadak. This town on the Ryasan-Ural railway, linking northern Russia with the south, was in the Gouvernment of Saratov and the volost of Arkadak. It was the seat of the local government, and the regional business and industrial centre. The deal for the purchase of 9,414 dessiatines, lying on either side of the Bolshoy Arkadak River, was completed with Count Viazemsky in 1910. The price of 1,619,208 rubles (172 per dessiatine) included a brick plant and other buildings as well as seed grain and horses.

Seven villages, of from 24 to 27 homesteads were laid out, 50 dessiatines per farm. Vladimirovka (1), Borissopol (2), Dmitrovka (3) and Marianovka (4) were south of the Bolshoy Arkadak, while Vyazemskoye (5), Leonidovka (6) and Lidyevka (7) were north of the river. Eventually about 180 families settled in the colony; total population reached 1,500 by 1925.

The land was good, and the colony soon prospered. The climate was more severe than that of southern Ukraine, but the cold winters with much snow and summers with shortened growing seasons still allowed wheat, rye, barley, oats, sunflowers and millet to thrive.

Mennonites established a number of businesses in the town of Arkadak, including mills, farm machinery outlets, general stores and a sunflower oil press. The brick plant located in Vyazemskoye, and included in the original purchase, was enlarged and modernized and did a brisk business in bricks and roof tiles.

The building originally constructed to house Count Viazemsky's labourers, situated in Vyazemskoye, served as the main sanctuary for the Mennonite Church. Abraham Martens, Johann Bueckert and Dietrich Rempel were leading ministers, membership reaching 350 by 1925. Mennonite Brethren ministers were Johann Pauls, Heinrich Block and Johann Epp. Originally meeting in homes, they eventually obtained a building in Vyazemskoye as well. For a time a secondary school was opened in Borissopal.

During World War I the colony lacked manpower because a large number of young men were in alternate forestry and medical services. More serious was anti-German feeling vented against the Mennonites by their Russian neighbours.

The colony suffered relatively little during the revolution and the subsequent civil war, but with the ensuing communist takeover, times were more difficult. Church life and education were disrupted, communist programs being substituted. With emigration to Canada a possibility about 400 people left the colony from 1923 to 1926.

In 1929 collectivization was introduced, driving many families to join the thousands of Mennonites in the outskirts of Moscow in a last ditch attempt to leave the country. An increasing number of men were exiled to Siberia and the far north. This process was accelerated during the Purge of 1937 and 1938.

With the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, it became Soviet policy to evacuate potentially subversive populations further east. With the approach of the invaders the entire Arkadak settlement was moved to Asiatic Russia and scattered in various collective farms and industries.

BORISSOVO COLONY
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The Borissovo Colony was founded in 1892, when people from the Chortitza Colony purchased 4,668 dessiatines of land in the Bachmut district of Ekaterinoslav province. Two villages were established, Nikolaifeld (Nikolaipol) and Kondratyevka, each farm having 80 dessiatines of land. The colony was just north west of the Ignatyevo Colony.

Each village had a school. Menonnite Church members were affiliated with the New York Mennonite Church of the Ignatyevo Colony.

In 1915 Borissovo had 80 families with a total population of 400.

BERGTHAL COLONY AND ENVIRONS
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BERGTHAL COLONY
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BERGTHAL IN 1848
(Page 17)

In 1833 the Chortitza Colony was given permission by the Russian Ministry of the

Interior to use a tract of 9,540 dessiatines located 32 kilometres north west of Mariupol', along the Bodena River. The land was mostly flat and fertile steppe, with a special feature of rock outcropping, reaching up to more than 100 metres in height, at its north west corner. Called Kamennaya Mogila, it provided a welcome change in terrain, but was also a source of stone for foundations as well as threshing and mill stones.

By 1836 plans for resettlement of landless people from Chortitza were completed. Attempting to remedy mistakes they remembered from their own migration, extra precautions were taken to help the new settlers. Only families of the Flemish Church were chosen, to prevent interfaction strife. A minister, Jacob Braun, accompanied the first group to provide spiritual leadership. Three men, Wilhelm Rempel, Jacob Martens and Johann Wiebe were to supervise the development of the colony. Each family received five wagon trips free to transport their belongings the 212 kilometre distance.

The village of Bergthal was settled in 1836, 29 families each receiving 65 dessiatines land. These were joined by three more families in 1837. Schoenfeld was founded by 25 families in 1837, Schoenthal, first settled in 1838, eventually had 31 farms. Heuboden, occupied by 28 families in 1839, was named after the abundant grass found in the Glubokaya River valley.

The first *Oberschulze* of Bergthal was Mr. Siemens, later succeeded by the well respected Jacob Peters. Abram Klassen was the first secretary. Administrative offices were located in the village of Bergthal.

Worship in Bergthal was traditional, varying little from the practices used in Danzig 100 years earlier. Jacob Braun, who had originally accompanied the group, was ordained elder in 1840. A large church building, seating 1,000 people, was erected in Bergthal village. Each village had a school; instruction, however, was often quite rudimentary. Those who wished further education usually attended secondary school in Chortitza.

In time Bergthal experienced the same problem with landless families as had the mother colony. Friedrichsthal was established in 1852, 19 families settling there to at least decrease the problem temporarily. In the 1860s Bergthal made serious efforts to buy additional land, but the proposed deal was not completed. By 1874 there were 350 landless families in Bergthal.

With the proposed Russification after 1870, and the large number of landless families in the colony, Bergthal was very ready to consider emigration to America when this option arose. The 12 men sent by Russian Mennonites to explore the possibilities included two Bergthal delegates, Jacob Peters, the *Oberschulze* from Heuboden, and Heinrich Wiebe from Schoenfeld. Kornelius Buhr also went, at his own expense. The Bergthal delegates chose the East Reserve in Manitoba as their new home.

Plans were to leave Russia over a three year period, 1874-76, pooling some of the money obtained from the sale of land to help defray the expenses of the poorer people. It was difficult to sell the land, and the prices obtained were low, but eventually the Grunau Colony bought Bergthal for the Catholics of their colony and Schoenfeld for the Lutherans. Heuboden and Schoenthal were purchased by the *Evangelische Separierten Bruedergemeinde*, and Friedrichsthal by Russians. While one group waited at the train station at Jelonovka in 1875 they saw a red glow on the horizon—almost half the village of Bergthal burned to the ground. The fire was started by a tea samovar which came too close to one of the thatched roofs.

With the arrival of the last group of 80 familes in Manitoba late in the summer of 1876 the transplantation of the entire colony of about 3,000 people was complete. They now occupied about 41 villages in eight townships of the East Reserve of Manitoba.

BOROZENKO AND NEPLUYEVKA COLONIES
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BOROZENKO

From 1865 to 1867 about 120 Kleine Gemeinde families from the Molotschna purchased 6,137 dessiatines land near Nikopol' in Ekaterinoslav province for 184,100 rubles. Principal villages were Steinbach, Blumenhof (Blumenhoff?), Heuboden, Rosenfeld and Annafeld (location not certain). At the same time a number of settlers from Chortitza came into the area, likely establishing Nikolaithal, Felsenbach and Schoendorf.

Together with additional smaller settlements in the area, such as Gruenfeld and Friedensfeld, Borozenko replaced the Molotschna as the centre of Kleine Gemeinde activities. The Blumenhof congregation was perhaps the most influential, in 1872 constructing a new sanctuary, school and teacherage. Heuboden was also the home of a large congregation. Some of the elders were Abraham L. Friesen and Peter Toews.

In 1874-75 almost all of the Kleine Gemeinde emigrated to North America, settling in Manitoba, Nebraska and Kansas. Many of the farms were sold to people from nearby Chortitza, while others, for example those in Gruenfeld, were sold to Lutherans and Russians.

Mennonite Church members living in Borozenko were served by the elder from Chortitza, although in time they became affiliates of the Neu-Chortitza congregation.

The Borozenko Colony had its own volost, administrative offices located in Nikolaithal. In 1915 there were 120 families in the settlement, with a total population of 600.

Much of the colony was devastated in the anarchy following World War I. Many of the people of Steinbach and possibly also Ebenfeld were slaughtered in a single night of violence. Apparently few emigrated to Canada in the mid 1920s, so most of the colonists likely suffered the same fate as many other Mennonites in the subsequent purge, resettlement of 1941, the advance and later retreat of the German armies.

NEPLUYEVKA

The Nepluyevka Colony was founded in 1870 on 4,000 dessiatines rented from a nobleman named Nepluyev. Two villages, Blumenfeld (Kisslitchevatoye) and Steinau (Starozavodskaya), were established about 16 kilometres from Nikopol', by people from the Chortitza Colony.

Mennonite Brethren organized about 1885, then built a sanctuary in Steinau which seated 500, although there were fewer than 100 members. Organizationally, Steinau functioned as an affiliate of the Einlage Mennonite Brethren Church. Heinrich Friesen, one of the leading men, began extension mission work among the neighbouring Russian people. With many original Mennonites leaving the area, the local Russian Christians bought the church building in 1918, using the bricks to build two new ones. The Mennonite Church functioned as part of the Borozenko congregation, with 106 of the 442 members living in Nepluyevka.

The population of Nepluyevka scattered after 1918, the eventual fate of the inhabitants being the same as that of other Mennonites in the area.

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS REGION
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KUBAN SETTLEMENT
(Page 19)

SUVOROVKA SETTLEMENT
(Page 19)

KUBAN

The Kuban Settlement was established in the early 1860s in the Northern Caucasus district of Russia, on the Kuban River. With the organization of the Mennonite Brethren Church in 1860, and because of the difficult times members of the new church were experiencing in the Chortitza and Molotschna colonies, Johann Claassen petitioned the government to allow establishment of a new colony. Official permission was granted in 1864. On a tract of 6,500 dessiatines the village of Wohldemfuerst was established in 1863, and Alexanderfeld in 1866. Church membership in the settlement remained predominantly Mennonite Brethren, although there was also some Templar and Adventist influence. Johann Claassen and Heinrich Huebert were among the Mennonite Brethren leaders living in the Kuban, the former elected *Oberschulze* in 1869, and receiving special recognition by the Tsar for his services.

Learning by trial and error, the settlement eventually flourished by raising cattle and growing fruit. Industry thrived, with two farm implement factories, flour mills and various stores in the area. By 1904 there were 2,000 Mennonites in the Kuban. The area suffered like other regions during the revolution, with some people departing for Canada in 1924-25. Many Mennonites were later exiled, especially in 1937-38, and during World War II all those remaining were deported to Kazakhstan.

TEMPELHOF and OLGINO

The Templar movement was founded by Christoph Hoffmann in 1854 near Stuttgart in Germany. A number of Mennonites, notably Johannes Lange of Gnadenfeld, became members of this movement. After considerable controversy with both civil and religious authorities, the "Friends of Jerusalem" or Templars obtained permission to establish a new settlement, commonly known as Tempelhof, on leased land in the Kuban area. Templars from Gnadenfeld founded the village Tempelhof, while Orbelianovka was established by settlers from Germany. Some Templars also moved to the predominantly Mennonite Brethren villages of the Kuban. Around 1870, and continuing on until the turn of the century, some of the Templar Mennonites actually moved to Palestine.

In 1896 the 30-year lease of the land on which Tempelhof and Orbelianovka were built expired, and rather than pay a high price for the tract, the Templars chose a new region, Suchaya Padina, in which to live. The new settlement, Olgino, consisting of two villages, Olgino and Romanovka, was about 130 kilometres north and west of the old location. In 1905 it was reported that the Olgino-Tempelhof congregation membership was 148, of whom 49 were active.

Initially Olgino was little effected by World War I and the revolution. The area was controlled by the White Army for a considerable part of the following civil war, but when Bolshevik control was finally established, many of the inhabitants were exiled as kulaks. By the beginning of World War II only a few Mennonites remained in the Olgino area, and the congregation of Templars had ceased to exist.

SUVOROVKA

Suvorovka (Suvorovskaya) was founded in 1894 near the Tempelhof settlement in the North Caucasus. Nikolaifeld was established in 1894 as a daughter village of Sagradovka with 80 families, 500 individuals, settling on 4,000 dessiatines of land. Grossfuerstental was founded in 1899 by settlers from the Kuban. Later the villages Lavarov and Arival were added, possibly by additional people from the Molotschna. In 1926 there were 1,000 individuals in the settlement, occupying a total of 5,600 dessiatines. During World War II most of the Mennonite inhabitants were deported from the region.

TEREK COLONY
(Page 20)

The Terek settlement was located within sight of the Caucasus Mountains, near the Caspian Sea, on the left bank of the Sulak River. It was established in 1901 on 24,800 dessiatines purchased from the Lvov brothers by the Molotschna Colony for 992,000 rubles. Originally planned for the landless only, the need for additional funding changed the orientation, so that of the final 15 villages, seven were settled by those who could purchase their own land.

Crop failures, often due to drought, made the early years difficult. There had previously been canals in the area, so when the Talma Canal was repaired in 1909, and the Richart Canal (likely Tarsaka Canal) constructed in 1910-11, the resulting irrigation of land allowed a spectacular improvement in the crops. Dikes to prevent flash floods by the Sulak River also regulated the agricultural conditions. Business eventually followed the settlers. Principal markets in Khassov-Yurt (Khasavyurt) and Petrovsk (Makhachkala) were some distance away, so stores opened in a number of villages. Flour mills, brick factories, carpenter and blacksmith shops served the villages. A bookstore opened in 1904, and a small bank in 1912.

The Mennonite Church erected its first building in Chartsch (2), then a second structure in Muedelburg (10) in 1908. Franz Enns was elected elder of the congregation. A Mennonite Brethren church was organized in the first year of settlement, Jacob Doerksen as elder. A building was erected in Talma (3) in 1902.

With the revolution the surrounding Nogai, Tatars and Kumek were able to exploit the Mennonite settlements without restraint. In February, 1918, most of the settlers left the area, abandoning everything they had. With the new communist government in control in 1921 it was negotiated that 105 families could return to the region, although many homes, churches and other property had been destroyed. Because of continued danger, including theft and murder, most Mennonites left the area by 1925, many emigrating to Canada.

CHORTITZA COLONY IN 1865
(Page 21)

The first Mennonite settlers, mainly from the Danzig area, arrived in the Chortitza River valley in Ekaterinoslav province in July of 1789. Initially setting up tents, some under a large oak tree near the Dniepr River, they moved out to their villages as housing, however primitive, became available. Those still remaining without shelter were quartered in Ekaterinoslav and Alexandrovsk over the next winter. The original group consisted of 288 families, but by 1797 a total of about 400 families had left Prussia to settle on the broad steppes of south Russia.

Eight villages were established by 1790 (Chortitza, Rosenthal, Insel Chortitza, Einlage, Neuenburg, Schoenhorst, Neuendorf and Kronsweide), with another two founded in 1797. Reports from 1820 record another five villages, with a total of 560 families and 2,888 individuals. By 1824 three more villages had been established, making a total of 18, constituting the Chortitza or the Old Colony.

Early times were difficult, not helped by the fact that many of the early settlers were poor artisans or from the landless group. The Russian government was slow to supply the

promised resources. The land was not nearly as fertile, nor other circumstances as favourable as the area originally chosen. Despite the fact that Hoeppner and Bartsch had not been responsible for the switch, these two men bore the brunt of the colonists' ire, Hoeppner even spending a brief time in jail.

Initially the raising of sheep, production of silk and cottage industries such as spinning and weaving involved most settlers. In the 1830s and 1840s the influence of Johann Cornies and the Agricultural Association also reached Chortitza, and soon thereafter agriculture, particularly the growing of grain, predominated. Associated industries were quick to follow. The first flour mills appeared in Chortitza and Rosenthal in 1820, later followed by many others, including steam powered mills, so that by 1908 there were 21 in the colony. The first agricultural machinery factory was founded by Peter Lepp in Chortitza in 1853. By 1907 there were 16 large factories producing plows, drills, wagons, mowers, threshing machines, fan mills and steam engines. Some of the larger factories were Hildebrandt and Priess, Lepp and Wallmann and A.Koop and Company. There were also starch factories, brick yards and even a clock factory.

Early village primary schools were most often taught by minimally trained teachers. In 1842, however, the Chortitza *Zentralschule* (high school) was founded to provide opportunities for education and the preparation of teachers. Heinrich Heese was the first teacher. A school for girls was founded in 1895, much of the work being done by David H. Epp. A teachers' college opened in 1890, by 1913 expanding to a three year program.

By far the largest number of early settlers were of Flemish background. They organized the Chortitza Mennonite Church, based in the village of Chortitza. Behrendt Penner was elected elder, since none had come with the group; a church building was soon erected. The Frisians organized the Kronsweide Mennonite Church and settled in separate villages. A Mennonite Brethren congregation was organized in Einlage in 1862.

The Chortitza population expanded steadily, so that a whole series of daughter colonies was formed to give additional room for this growth. From Bergthal, begun in 1836, to Arkadak in 1910, sons and daughters of Chortitza moved out to almost all parts of Russia. A considerable contingent also moved to America in the 1870s. In 1910 the colony had about 2,000 families with a total population of 12,000 on about 150,000 dessiatines of land, not including rented or private estates.

During the revolution and the following civil war the Chortitza suffered a great deal, often being the battleground of the various armies or bands of anarchists. In 1919, for example, 144 people were murdered by the Makhno terrorists. Epidemics with many fatalities and starvation added to the misery of this period. Many Chortitza Mennonites, including leaders, emigrated to Canada in the 1920s. Collectivization was imposed on those remaining after 1928, also the usual exiling of ministers and kulaks, a total of 1,456 between 1929 and 1941.

As part of industrial development in the area, the Soviets in 1926 decided to build the large Dneproges Hydroelectric Dam on the Dniepr River. Since the dam was just downriver from Einlage, this village had to be abandoned and moved to higher ground. The retreating Soviet troops destroyed the dam in 1941, as did the retreating German army in 1943, but it was again repaired to provide electric power for the surrounding area.

With the rapid advance of the German armies in the summer of 1941, the Soviets did not have time to evacuate the entire population, although a total of 831 people had been deported. During the ensuing German occupation various aspects of life resumed their traditional patterns. Some Mennonites returned to private farming, and schools began operating. This was a short-lived reprieve. With a change in the tide of war the front again approached, and most Mennonite inhabitants of Chortitza were evacuated by train from September 28 to October 20, 1943. Most eventually reached Poland and Germany, about 11,700 in all. Of these perhaps two-thirds were later forced to return to the Soviet Union, and about 4,000 found new homes in Canada and South America.

Today many of the larger buildings of the Chortitza Colony still stand. The hospital in Chortitza is still tending the sick. The teachers' college, with a new wing added, still functions as a teachers' college. The famous old oak, for centuries a sign of permanence, has currently just a few branches hanging on to life.

CHORTITZA ROSENTHAL IN 1915
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Chortitza and Rosenthal were neighbouring villages among the first established when the Mennonites from Prussia settled in the Chortitza River area in 1789. Chortitza began with 34 farmsteads, Rosenthal with 20; this expanded to 39 and 35 respectively by 1848. Being rather central, many of the institutions of the Chortitza Colony tended to gravitate to these villages. When the district or volost office was built, it was in Chortitza.

The Chortitza Mennonite Church, representing the Flemish Mennonites, was organized as soon as the settlement was founded, with the first building erected in Chortitza village. It was replaced in the 1830s and used by the congregation until the Mennonites left the area in 1943. By 1915 there was even an Orthodox church and a synagogue in Chortitza. Educational facilities were also centred in these villages. Eventually there were four elementary schools in the two villages, one high school established in 1842, a teachers' college founded in 1890, and a girls' school begun in 1895. There was a general hospital and also one for factory workers.

Industrial development of the colony tended to concentrate in Chortitza Rosenthal as well. At one point there were 131 business establishments, varying from stores to huge implement factories.

Chortitza Rosenthal suffered the same fate as the colony during the revolution, subsequent civil war, epidemics, famine, then later the exiling of a portion of the population. Most inhabitants left the region with the retreating German armies in 1943, a fair number of whom were later forced back to Russia, but some reaching Canada and South America.

EINLAGE
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Einlage (Russian name: Kitchkas) was one of the largest and busiest villages of the Chortitza Colony. Established in 1789, it was named after the original home of some of the Prussian Mennonite settlers. A flood of the Dniepr River soon made it necessary to move the village to higher ground. Due in part to its favourable position, industry and business soon supplemented the usual agricultural activities of the Mennonites.

Heinrich Unger established a wagon factory in the early 1800s, which later produced the first Mennonite spring wagons. Johann Friesen's factory manufactured grain reapers by 1879; in time Koop and Co. bought this plant and broadened the scale of manufacturing to include motors and machinery for steel rolling flour mills. The windmills were replaced by large steam flour mills; there were also lumber yards and other businesses.

Einlage had the typical village school, in time enlarged to four classrooms. It also had a private school in the mid-1800s.

The Mennonite congregation of Einlage was part of the Chortitza Mennonite Church. Originally meeting in the school, a modern brick sanctuary was built in 1900. The Einlage Mennonite Brethren Church was organized in 1862, with Abraham Unger the first elder (1862-76), followed by Aaron Lepp (1876-1903). Einlage and Andreasfeld were the two leading Mennonite Brethren centres in the Chortitza Colony, Einlage in earlier years being the larger. By 1885 Einlage had six affiliate congregations and was the largest M.B. church in Russia. With an average of about 60 new members baptized per year, the congregation continued to grow, with eight affiliates in 1910. The Einlage town council was finally persuaded to allow the construction of a church building by the Mennonite Brethren, which was erected in the autumn of 1904.

In 1901 a railroad was built, eventually crossing the mighty Dniepr via a single span bridge which was completed in 1906. This significantly helped the development of industry in the area. By 1914 there were 1,500 people occupying 2,777 dessiatines.

Einlage suffered severely during the Russian revolution and the subsequent civil war, a number of inhabitants being murdered. One hundred died in the typhus epidemic of 1919-20, and 56 starved to death in the famine of 1921.

In 1926 the government decided to construct the Dneproges Hydroelectric Dam just down river from Einlage. The whole village was moved westward in 1927 in preparation for the flooding required to fill the reservoir needed for the dam.

Mennonites in Einlage did not escape the purges of the late 1930s, at least 245 being sent to labour camps by 1941. When the German army invaded the Ukraine in 1941 the Russians managed to evacuate only 23% of the people. Most of those remaining fled westward when the German front retreated, 997 going by train to Danzig, 1,235 struggling in wagons. Many of the men were forced into the German army; a substantial number of people were killed in the Allied bombing of Dresden. After being overrun by the Soviets most Mennonites were forcibly deported to Asiatic Russia. The few remaining in Germany eventually settled in Canada and Paraguay.

OSTERWICK KRONSTHAL
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OSTERWICK

Osterwick (also known as Neu-Osterwick) was founded adjacent to Kronsthal in 1812, early settlers coming from other Chortitza Colony villages, principally Neuendorf. Originally 20-26 families settled, mainly on the eastern end. Osterwick presumably had difficult pioneering circumstances, but added to this was the propensity to burn down. The "Big Fire" of 1863, started by overheated lard on a kitchen stove, destroyed 62 buildings in one hour.

Agriculture was always important in Osterwick, 20 full and 20 half farms occupying 1,950 dessiatines of land in 1914. The first windmill was built soon after the village was founded, eventually several more were constructed; in time these were replaced by motor or steam driven mills. The Schulz factory, employing 100-150 workers, produced agricultural machinery. The Rempel factory, established in 1885, and employing 50-75, produced smiliar goods, but specialized in plows.

Osterwick had the usual elementary school, which eventually had up to 150 students, as well as a separate school for children of factory workers. A secondary school was dedicated in 1912, initially stimulated by a gift from the local *Frauenverein* (ladies aid society), then supplemented by industrialists Dietrich Schulz and Bernhard Rempel. Gerhard W. Sawatzky was the first principal.

Most people in Osterwick were members of the Chortitzer Mennonite Church. As a matter of fact, Osterwick was the headquarters and site of the sanctuary of a congregation which also included Kronsthal and Schoeneberg. Total membership in 1905 was 1,571, not including 839 children. Some of the outstanding elders through the years were Jacob Dyck (elder from 1812-1854), Gerhard Dyck (1896-1922) and P.P. Neufeld (1922-27).

Osterwick suffered the common fate during the Russian revolution and civil war. Makhnovtse bands occupied the village in late 1919, bringing with them a typhus epidemic which claimed 160 lives of the roughly 1,650 inhabitants. Although somewhat late to prevent the deaths, a temporary hospital was set up in Osterwick in early 1920, Barabara Braun being one of the nurses. The following famine was considerably alleviated by help from the Mennonite Central Committee. A fair number of people from Osterwick migrated to Canada during the 1920s. Those remaining shared the fate of the purges, evacuation, the long trek, and the eventual forced return to Russia of many who tried to escape.

KRONSTHAL

Kronsthal was settled in 1809 on additional land purchased just south of the Chortitza Colony, the first 12 farmers coming from Kronsweide and Rosenthal. Crop failures and cattle diseases made the first few decades difficult; wagon building and cabinet making supplemented the basic agriculture. In time, Kronsthal became quite prosperous, especially by the late 1800s. The landless people were most often employed by factories in neighbouring Osterwick.

Mennonite Brethren became active in Kronsthal about 1877, and in time had many members in the village, with a few in Osterwick. A sanctuary was built in Kronsthal; some of the leaders of the congregation over the years were Jacob J. Dyck, Kornelius Pauls and Peter Braun. Kronsthal was part of the Burwalde congregation, so it was actually an affiliate of the Einlage M.B. Church. In 1906 membership stood at 113, with a total of 270 participants.

During the Russian revolution and civil war Kronsthal suffered the same devastation as its neighbours. Makhnovtse bands ransacked the village in late 1919, taking almost all of the horses and cows, but leaving the inhabitants with typhus, which claimed 66 victims in the following months. A total of 151 people migrated to Canada in the 1920s, of those remaining, 91 were exiled or evacuated by the Soviets. When the German armies retreated from the area in 1943 most Mennonites went with them. Some were later forced to return to Russia; those who could, migrated to Canada.

SCHOENWIESE
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The first Mennonite settlers arrived in the Chortitza River valley in July of 1789. Eight villages were established by 1790, then another two, including Schoenwiese, in 1797. The original seventeen families that founded Schoenwiese settled, *wirtschaften* likely all in a row, along the Moskovka River, and engaged in agriculture and raising sheep.

When milling and manufacturing became more prevalent in the Chortitza Colony, many of the prominent firms had establishments in Schoenwiese. In the 1850s and 1860s there were a dozen windmills, Peter Bock actually being a widely recognized builder of mills. In time Lepp and Wallmann, Hildebrandt and Priess, and Koop had large implement factories, and Hermann Niebuhr had several mills in Schoenwiese. Since industry was so profitable the town sold most of its land, keeping only the Dniepr lowlands, then later sold even this to the city of Alexandrovsk (Zaporozh'ye).

Originally the Schoenwiese Mennonite Church, its building erected in 1862, was a

branch of the Frisian Kronsweide congregation. It became the centre for this congregation after the destruction of Neu-Kronsweide. Andreas Vogt (1854-1914) was one of the leading ministers in the area.

Schoenwiese was at the crossroads of much travel and commerce, and became a suburb of Alexandrovsk (Zaporozh'ye) in 1911. During the revolution and the subsequent civil war the front passed through the region 23 times. Eventually all industry ground to a halt. The Mennonites suffered greatly during the time of unrest, particularly since a number were very prosperous. When order was restored many of the industries were nationalized.

Many Schoenwiese residents emigrated to Canada in the 1920s, most of the rest fleeing with the retreating German armies in 1943. Currently the buildings of the village which remain are in the southern part of the city of Zaporozh'ye. The cemetery is now part of a parking lot for new Zaporozh'ye cars, but the large Niebuhr mill still functions as a mill.

THE ISLAND OF CHORTITZA
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Things have changed since the Mennonites first settled along the Chortitza River. They no longer live on the Island of Chortitza, and are not even mentioned as former residents, although their names on the cemetery tombstones attest to the century and a half of occupation. The island is now used as a health and rehabilitation centre.

The Dneproges Hydroelectric Dam is fully operational, producing a large reservoir up the Dniepr River. Unfortunately the Mennonite village of Einlage had to be flooded when this reservoir was being filled up in 1931. A railroad with its bridge, originally built in 1901, also had to be rerouted further south. Zaporozh'ye (Alexandrovsk) has grown into a large industrial city, engulfing Schoenwiese into its suburbs. The Intourist Hotel in Zaporozh'ye is the new home for Mennonites visiting the area.

CHORTITZA COLONY REGION IN 1992
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The Chortitza Colony region is now dominated by the growing industrial city, Zaporozh'ye. Founded in 1770 on the left bank of the Dniepr River, it was a relatively small town when the Mennonites settled on the right bank of the river in 1789. Originally called Alexandrovsk, it was renamed Zaporozh'ye in 1921. With the completion of the Dneproges Hydroelectric Dam in 1932, industry was stimulated. The city is currently known for its metallurgical plant and electrical furnaces which produce high quality steel, as well as for manufacture of agricultural machinery, ball bearings, machine tools, aluminum and chemicals. It is an important river port and a railway centre. It is the capital of the Zaporozh'ye Oblast, a province of Ukraine. By 1983 the population of Zaporozh'ye reached 835,000.

The Chortitza Colony was largely abandoned by the Mennonites with the retreat of the German armies from the area in 1943, although many of the institutional buildings still stand. Some structures are even used for the original intended purpose, for example the Teachers' College and hospital in Chortitza and the Niebuhr Mill in Schoenwiese. Urban spread of Zaporozh'ye has engulfed a number of Mennonite villages, to include Schoenwiese, Insel Chortitza, Einlage, Chortitza and Rosenthal within city limits. Most of the other villages still exist, but of course with Ukrainian names and a totally transformed population. Most of the territory is within the Zaporozh'ye Oblast, although the western edges are in the Dnepropetrovsk Oblast.

CRIMEA
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During the Crimean War (1853-56) the Mennonites helped their fatherland by taking care of Russian wounded soldiers and by providing transport wagons and drivers, even within the battle zones of the Crimea. Through this experience the Mennonites became aware of the mild climate and relatively fertile soil of the peninsula, certainly prefering it to the distant cold stretches of Siberia. With the need for more land, particularly by Molotschna residents, the Crimea became a desirable option. In 1862 four Mennonite villages were established, one of which was Karassan. Throughout the years additional settlements were founded, mainly along major railways and roads and therefore scattered across the whole peninsula, some on purchased, others on leased land. There was also a considerable number of private estates, the largest being that of Peter Schroeder, consisting of 8,000 dessiatines.

In the 1870s Mennonites from the Crimea also emigrated to America, sometimes whole villages or church groups moving as a block. However, by 1926 there were 70 Mennonite settlements in the Crimea, occupying 55,000 dessiatines, consisting of 892 families and 4,187 individuals.

The land, by and large, was fertile, but in some areas water was scarce, or where present, brackish. Agriculture flourished in most regions, common commodities produced being grain, cattle, fruit and grapes. Industry also developed. Spat, for example, had two steam flour mills, a farm implement factory, two wind mills and a number of other businesses. Karassan had a steam flour mill and a brickyard.

Church life was active from the beginning. The Karassan Mennonite Church was founded in 1862. The first elder was Jakob Wiebe, followed by Heinrich B. Unruh. The congregation had a large beautiful building in Karassan, with affiliate congregations in Schottenruh (Dyurmen) and Hochfeld (Pascha-Tschokmak) also having buildings. The first Mennonite Brethren baptism was held near Spat in 1885, the congregation erecting a building in that village in 1887. In 1895 Abraham and in 1897 Jakob Kroeker moved to Spat. For some years *Friedensstimme*, the paper they published, originated in Spat. In 1899 the well respected minister David Duerksen, then living in Schoental (Ischung-Nemetzky), was ordained elder of the Crimean Mennonite Brethren Church. The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church began as a result of the work of a Kleine Gemeinde minister. Jacob Wiebe of Annenfeld (Annovka) was one of the organizers and its first elder. The whole congregation (about 50 members) emigrated to Kansas in 1874. The *Apostolische Bruedergemeinde* in 1865, and the *Evangelische Bruedergemeinde* in 1921 also had their beginnings in the Crimea.

Each major village had its own primary school, but secondary schools were also established in Karassan (1905) and Spat (1906), as well as a girls' school in Karassan (1910). In 1918 a Bible school was established in Tchongrav (Tschongraw), the first teachers being Johann Wiens, Heinrich Braun and Gerhard Reimer. Abraham H. Unruh joined the staff in 1920. Forced by the government to close in 1924, instructors Unruh, Wiens and Reimer were able to emigrate to Canada, only to open the Winkler Bible School in 1925.

As part of alternate service Mennonite young men served in the Phylloxera Commandos, which worked to protect Crimean vineyards from the vine louse. This, as well as road building and forestry service, continued during World War I. Being somewhat isolated because it is a peninsula, the Crimea was sheltered from the worst excesses of the revolution and the civil war, but eventually the communist takeover was just as complete. Most of the Mennonite population was eventually evacuated prior to the German

invasion in 1941. Some, for example a number from Tchongrav, survived the tides of war and emigrated to Canada. Many others were exiled or scattered throughout Asiatic Russia.

SPAT
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Spat was founded in 1881 by Molotschna Mennonites, near the railway station Sarabus, which was on the Khar'kov-Sevastopol line. The initial 31 farmsteads were established on land purchased from Anna Semyonova for 36 rubles per dessiatine. While the settlers were supposed to have enough inital capital, additional loans from the Molotschna were needed to tide over the early difficult period. Soon Spat became the largest Mennonite village in the Crimea, and also the centre for agriculture, education and industry.

Spurred by the railroad and nearby Simferopol, industry and commerce developed rather quickly. J. Langemann owned a large agricultural machine factory; there were two large steam mills owned by Langemann and Unrau, as well as a binder twine factory, two windmills, a store and an iron and lumber business.

But all was not work in Spat. A waterfall on the Salgir River which flowed through the village was a spot where Crimean Mennonites frequently went for picnics.

The first elementary school was started in the home of J. Langemann, but soon expanded to two regular classrooms. Another school was needed because of the influx of factory workers and their families. A secondary school (*Zentralschule*) was dedicated in 1906; it was somewhat unusual in that it was co-educational.

The Karassan Mennonite Church, founded in 1862, had an affiliate congregation in Spat by 1882, with its own building. Mennonite Brethren, through the work of itinerant ministers from the Rueckenau church of the Molotschna, had their first baptism in 1885. Hermann Konrad was elected and ordained as the first minister in 1886, and a new sanctuary was completed in Spat in 1887. Abraham and Jakob Kroeker moved to Spat and began to publish, including the first Mennonite newspaper in Russia, *Friedensstimme*. David Duerksen moved from Margenau in the Molotschna to Schoental in the Crimea, and in 1899 was ordained as elder. A new sanctuary was built in Schoental, this village soon becoming the denominational centre for the Crimea. During World War I the Spat Mennonite Brethren church was used as a field hospital, the congregation joining the Mennonite Church in its building. When that structure was destroyed by fire in 1919, both congregations took over the previous Mennonite Brethren sanctuary.

Spat Mennonites suffered the same fate as the other Mennonites in the area during the revolution, civil war and subsequent Communist takeover.

KARASSAN
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Karassan was founded in 1862 by Mennonites from the Molotschna Colony. Original farms had 64 dessiatines of very good land, although in time some people owned considerably more. Early times were difficult, partly because the Khar'kov-Sevastopol railway had not yet been built. Having a good source of water from two wells helped development, many trees eventually surrounding the substantial limestone houses. Vineyards supplemented the traditional Mennonite agriculture, as did business and industry; there was a tile factory owned by Gerhard Wall, a windmill as well as a store. A hospital was staffed by doctors.

A two-room elementary school provided inital education, followed by a secondary school (*Zentralschule*) established in 1905 and a girls' school in operation by 1910.

The Karassan Mennonite Church was founded in 1862. Jakob Wiebe was the first elder (1862-80), then Heinrich B. Unruh (1880-83) and Abraham Friesen. In 1904, with affiliates in Spat, Hochfeld and Schottenruh, the Karassan church had 846 members, encompassing a total population of 1,928. Some ministers of this congregation joined the Mennonite Brethren Church of the Crimea.

The eventual fate of the Karassan Mennonites was the same as that of all other Mennonites in the area, some emigrating to Canada, many being exiled to Asiatic Russia.

FUERSTENLAND COLONY
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Fuerstenland was founded between 1864 and 1870 as a daughter colony of Chortitza. The land, south west of a bend in the Dniepr River, was rented from the Grand Duke Michael Nikolaevitch, originally for one and a quarter, then gradually up to 14 rubles per dessiatine. Each of the original six villages was given both name and number, and had from 18 to 35 farms. On or after 1874 a total of about 1,100 people emigrated to Manitoba, settling in the West Reserve. In 1911 the Fuerstenland population was 1,800 occupying, just before the revolution, 7,001 dessiatines. In 1923 the village Karlovka with ten farms was added to the colony.

Each village had a school at which worship services were also held. The Fuerstenlaender Mennonite Church was independent, but after Elder Johann Wiebe joined the migration of the 1870s it became a subsidiary of the Chortitza church. Johann Enns was the Mennonite Brethren leader for 40 years. In 1910 the congregation erected a new building in Olgafeld; by 1914 the membership stood at 63.

Besides the usual agriculture, industry in Fuerstenland included two flour mills, one of which was in Sergeyevka, and a Niebuhr factory in Olgafeld.

After the revolution and the civil war most of the remaining families (about 160) emigrated to Canada. The 14 families left behind went through collectivization, the exile of some of their men, and the long trek with the retreating German armies in 1943.

IGNATYEVO COLONY
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In 1888 the Chortitza Colony bought 14,159.8 dessiatines of land from the Count Ignatieff for 924,400 rubles. This land was in the Bachmut district of the province Ekaterinoslav, beside the Krivoy Torets River and close to the Khar'kov-Mariupol' railroad line. Many of the landless from Chortitza settled in this colony, a total of 244 families founding seven villages. Six villages were begun immediately, with Ignatyevka (6) being settled in 1890. In popular speech the villages were often simply known by their numbers.

The principal occupation of most of the villagers was farming, although a total of 12 mills were built, and there were also factories and brickyards. New York, being only one verst from the railroad station at Zheleznaya, had a considerable amount of industry, including one of the J.G. Niebuhr farm implement factories.

The New York Mennonite Church was founded in 1892, the first elder being Abraham Unruh. By 1905 this congregation with all its affiliates numbered 2,275, although the local number of baptized members was only 606. In 1905 a secondary school (*Zentralschule*) was founded, the first teachers being Heinrich Funk and Gerhard Froese.

Nikolayevka was the principal centre of the Mennonite Brethren. At first the congregation was affiliated with the Einlage M.B. Church, but it became independent in 1905 when Hermann A. Neufeld was ordained elder. The Mennonite Brethren also founded a *Zentralschule*, in 1906 in

Nikolayevka; Kornelius Martens was the first teacher.

The Ignatyevo Colony suffered the common difficulties of the southern Ukraine during the revolutionary period, a particularly heavy raid by Makhno coming in February, 1919. There appeared to be some economic recovery in the 1920s, but in 1942 the entire population of the colony was evacuated by the Soviets before the German armies reached the area, presumably leaving few Mennonites in the region.

NEW YORK
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New York was founded in 1889, one of the first six villages of the Ignatyevo Colony. It was situated along the banks of the Krivoy Torets River, close to the town of Zheleznaya. The name "New York" was in response to a request by the wife of Count Ignatieff (from whom the land was purchased), who, being an American, was likely pining for some reminder of her homeland.

Besides the usual agriculture, industry soon developed in New York, especially because of the proximity of the Khar'kov-Mariupol' railroad. A number of factories were built, among them that of the J.G. Niebuhr company, which manufactured a wide range of farm implements. There were a number of steam mills, brickyards, stores and even a windmill. By 1913 total population reached 926.

There were two elementary schools in New York. In 1905 a secondary school (*Zentralschule*) was founded. The first teachers were Heinrich Funk and Gerhard Froese. A girls' school opened its doors in 1907, the principal sponsor being J.J.Thiessen, the leading teacher, Viktoria Klein.

The New York Mennonite Church was organized in 1892, the first elder being Abraham Unruh. By 1905, including affiliates in Borissovo, Grigoryevka and the Azov Forestry Camp, the congregation numbered 2,275, although local baptized membership was only 600. There were undoubtedly Mennonite Brethren living in New York, but their house of worship was in Nikolayevka.

New York suffered the same fate in later years as the rest of the Ignatyevo Colony.

MEMRIK COLONY
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In 1885 the Halbstadt and Gnadenfeld volosts combined to purchase a tract of land in the Bachmut district of Ekaterinoslav province. The 11,999 dessiatines were purchased for 600,000 rubles from the noblemen Kotlyarevsky and Karpov. Initially 221 landless families, 1,367 persons, settled in ten villages. Original village names were mostly German, but these were later Russianized as follows: Alexanderhof (Alexandrovka), Bahndorf (Orlov), Ebental (Nikolayevka), Karpovka, Kotlyarevka, Marienort (Kalinovo), Memrik, Michaelsheim (Michailovka), Nordheim (Marinovka), Waldeck (Lessovka). By 1914 the population was 3,500. In 1922 another village, Dolinovka, was laid out between Lessovka and Alexandrovka.

At first Memrik was administered by the Molotschna colony. Although it tried to form its own volost, in 1888 it was incorporated into the neighbouring Russian Golizynov district. Alexanderpol (1888) and Ossokino were additional Mennonite settlements established near Memrik which in many ways functioned as part of the colony.

Agriculture was difficult in the early years, partly because of plagues such as grasshoppers and gophers, but also because market prices were low. With the introduction of winter wheat and the "German Red" cow there was improvement. Five villages had mills and Julius Legin established an agricultural machinery factory in Lessovka in 1895.

In the midst of the struggle for survival, the Mennonite Church had considerable difficulty organizing. No ministers came with the settlers, so three were elected from within the group. Since they had trouble renting facilities a large beautiful church building was erected in Kalinovo in 1898. Peter Janzen was one of those originally elected as minister, later ordained as elder by the congregation. A minister, Isaak Fast, and a deacon, Jakob Doerksen, accompanied the Mennonite Brethren settlers. Initially meetings were rotated through the various homes, but in 1887 a building was purchased in Kotlyarevka. After difficulties with local authorities (about building permits) a new structure replaced the old in 1897. Originally the church was affiliated with the Rueckenau congregation, becoming independent in 1900 .

In the early years elementary schools were in homes, but in time most villages had modern buildings modelled after those in the Molotschna. In 1918 a secondary school was established in Kotlyarevka and another in Nikolayevka in 1920. The first one eventually had to be closed, the second was gradually taken over by the communist state system.

During World War I the colony contributed 240 young men to the forestry and medical services. After the war, in the subsequent anarchy, Memrik suffered many casualties and lost much property, especially through the atrocities of Makhno and his bands. The following civil war, drought and starvation also took a large toll. About 30 families emigrated to Canada from 1923-27, with only a few leaving via Moscow in 1929.

With collectivization in 1930, a great number of farmers were labelled "kulaks" and exiled to Siberia. The remaining population was organized into three collective farms—Thaelmann, Petrovky and Karl Marx. During the Purge of 1937-38 a further 240 men were exiled, few of whom were ever heard from again.

After the German invasion of Russia all men between the ages of 16 and 65 were sent to Asiatic Russia. On October 5, 1941 the remaining population was ordered to collect at Zhelanaya Station, from which they were transported eastward, many to Kazakhstan. The few Mennonites who were left in the villages joined the retreating German armies in 1943.

MOLOTSCHNA COLONY IN 1865
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After the initial surge of Mennonite migration from the Vistula area to the Chortitza Colony in the late 1780s and 1790s, further restrictions imposed by Frederick William III of Prussia, and extended privileges announced by Tsar Paul I of Russia, conspired to encourage further emigration. An area of 120,000 dessiatines east of the Molochnaya River was designated for further Mennonite settlement.

In 1803, 193 families consisting of 1,020 individuals left the Elbing and Marienburg districts of Prussia. They stopped in the Chortitza Colony over the winter, then, together with an additional 162 families who had arrived in the spring, moved onto the tract of land to found the Molotschna Mennonite Colony in the spring of 1804. Some of these settlers had been able to sell their farms, and as a result had capital as well as large wagons and furniture. Others, particularly in later years, were not quite so well off. A number of the migrants were already organized before they arrived; Klaas Wiens, for example, was chosen *Oberschulze* prior to the actual settlement. In 1805 another 22 families arrived, followed by 15 in 1806. By 1810 well over 400 families settled in the Molotschna Colony.

The first pioneers in 1804 founded a line of nine villages from Halbstadt to Altonau along the eastern bank of the Molochnaya River. In 1805 another eight villages were laid out east of the original group, along the tributaries which flowed into the Molochnaya. Fuerstenau was added to the northern

group in 1806 to complete the first burst of settlement at a total of 18 villages.

When circumstances stabilized after the Napoleonic Wars, further emigration from Prussia continued. In 1819 a total of 75 families reached the Molotschna, founding Margenau, Lichtfelde and Neukirch. Most of the early settlers were Flemish Mennonites, but of the 179 families that arrived in 1820, more than 100 were Frisians, under the leadership of Franz Goerz. They founded seven villages in 1820, centred around Rudnerweide, on the eastern end of the Molotschna. Despite government regulations forbidding further immigration, another 200 families settled in the Molotschna between 1821 and 1833, establishing a total of ten villages. In 1833 the government decided to admit no more foreign colonists, although occasional exceptions were made. In 1834 forty families of Groningen Old Flemish led by Wilhelm Lange arrived from Brandenburg, founding Gnadenfeld, and in 1836 another group under the leadership of Kornelius Wedel established Waldheim.

After this time any villages established were the result of internal population expansion. Konteniusfeld in 1832, Landskrone in 1839, Hierschau in 1848 were such villages, the latter specifically planned by Johann Cornies to be an example of Russian Mennonite life. A further ten villages were founded, the final ones being Klippenfeld and Hamberg in the north east corner of the Molotschna in 1863.

The Mennonite colonies of South Russia have been called a Commonwealth, of which the Molotschna was the showpiece. In part this designation could be made because of the efforts of one man. Johann Cornies, originally born in Prussia, lived and worked in the Molotschna. Having completed experiments on his own estate Juschanlee, he then proceeded to institute many innovations in the Molotschna region. He was appointed chairman of the Agricultural Society in 1830, using this position as a platform to proceed with reforms in agriculture, horticulture, but also of the educational system. Afforestation, with each village having its own little forest, and crop rotation, were special projects of Johann Cornies.

A number of important developments influenced Molotschna life. The Kleine Gemeinde broke away from the main church in 1812, and was centred mainly in Petershagen and Muensterberg. In 1860 the Mennonite Brethren also separated from the *Grosse Gemeinde*, claiming that many in the older church were no longer living out their faith.

Farms, by government decree, could not be divided into smaller portions, so that in time an increasing number of people in the Molotschna were not able to own land. Of the 3,740 families in the Molotschna in 1865, 63% were of the landless group. After a number of confrontations, the government established a commission which studied the situation and decided on a more equitable distribution of land; this was instituted in 1866, with final changes in 1869.

In 1870 there was a reorganization of many areas of Russia, including the Mennonite colonies; the Molotschna was divided into two regions. The Halbstadt Volost, headquarters in Halbstadt, included the western section, with 30 villages and slightly more than half of the population. The Gnadenfeld Volost, headquarters in Gnadenfeld, consisted of the remaining eastern Molotschna, with 27 villages.

With more intense Russification and revision of the armed forces in Russia in the early 1870s , a significant number of Mennonites felt it was again time to migrate. Eventually about 17,000 left Russia, roughly 10,000 to the U.S.A. and 7,000 to Manitoba. About 20% of the almost 25,000 inhabitants of the Molotschna emigrated. Despite this emigration there was a steady need for the formation of new colonies to accept the excess population from the older Mennonite colonies. Sagradovka, Memrik, Neu Samara, Orenburg and Terek were daughter colonies established by the Molotschna.

Beginning in 1910 a railroad was built through the northern and western portions of the Molotschna. Train service began in December, 1913, the run from Lichtenau to Halbstadt to Waldheim (Stulnevo) taking about four hours.

With the outbreak of World War I things changed. Many young men from the Molotschna served in Forestry and the Medical Corps. In November, 1917, with the onset of the Russian Revolution, local Soviets came to power. From February 5 to April 18, 1918, the region suffered in what was called the "Halbstadt Days of Terror". This was followed by a more peaceful time of occupation by German troops. From October 1918, until March, 1919, the Mennonite *Selbstschutz* protected the area, but was forced to retreat by the combined force of Makhno and the Red Army. Red troops occupied Gnadenfeld on March 11, 1919. Then followed days of anarchy and terror, with intermittent occupation by White Armies, first under General Deniken, then General Wrangel. Eventually Wrangel retreated from the area in October, 1920, with the Communists taking over the region.

The Molotschna was affected by history as it unfolded. The great famine of 1921-22 would have taken many more lives if the Mennonite Central Committee from America had not helped. In the mid-1920s first the refugees and landless, but then also many landowners migrated to Canada, in all perhaps a quarter of the population. With collectivization throughout the Soviet Union in the early 1930s, a large number of landowners were displaced off their farms, in Hierschau for example, at least 20 of the total of 30. In the purges of 1936-38 at least 1,500 men from the Molotschna were imprisoned, many never to be seen again.

Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. With German armies approaching, most men between the ages of 16 and 65 were sent to northern Russia and Siberia. At least 1,547 men (probably more) were forced to leave the Molotschna during this time. As the invading forces came nearer, the Soviets tried to evacuate the whole Mennonite population. They succeeded in emptying out most of the southern and western villages (likely at least six or seven thousand people), but simply did not have time to deport the rest. Relative tranquility followed the German occupation of the region on October 6, 1941. Law and order, German style were instituted. Many aspects of life became much easier, although special action teams eliminated undesirable elements of society. With typical thoroughness, considerable documentation was carried out in the zone of occupation. Two page village cards were prepared for each German village in the Ukraine.

But the fortunes of war changed, and with the final capitulation of German forces in Stalingrad on February 2, 1943, a steady retreat followed. Distant rumble of cannons could be heard in the east when all Mennonites who were able to evacuated the Molotschna on September 11 and 12, 1943, joining thousands of other Mennonites and ethnic Germans on the Great Trek westward. The long, difficult journey eventually lead to the Warthegau area of Poland by late February, 1944, then further into Germany. Some columns of fleeing refugees were over-run by the advancing Soviet armies, others were recaptured or lured back from the Western zones of occupation by promises of return to their own villages. Very few returned to their original homes, most being sent to the far north or into the vast reaches of Siberia.

Currently the Molotschna is largely an agricultural region, being divided into a number of collective farms. The western portion is in the Tokmak District, while the eastern section is part of the Chernigov District. Here and there a few Mennonites live as part of the general population. Some of

the original buildings still stand, a few retaining their original function. A number of the churches have windows bricked shut and serve as granaries, while other structures, such as the volost headquarters, stand empty.

Shortly after the Mennonites settled on the east side of the Molchnaya River, a German colony was established on the west side, the first settlers arriving in 1805. The Prischib Colony, the village of Prischib as administrative centre, eventually consisted of 22 villages, population in 1834 of 7,786. Most were Lutherans, although there were five Catholic villages.

ALEXANDERKRONE IN 1914
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Alexanderkrone was founded in 1857, lying just south of the Juschanlee River, between Kleefeld and Lichtfelde. Likely named after the recently crowned Tsar Alexander II, its early settlers probably were people from within the Molotschna. Originally consisting of 40 full farms, with the land redistribution in the 1860s another 20 to 25 smaller farms were added, giving a total land area of 3,000 dessiatines. The land was fertile, all of it lying to the south of the village, with several branches of the Arab River meandering across it.

The elementary school, located in the centre of the village usually had two teachers and about 60 students. A high school was established in 1906, in 1913 becoming a school of commerce (*Handelsschule*). The village also had a brick factory, a steam mill, at least one windmill, a doctor's office with a neighbouring drugstore. In 1913 the Mennonite population was 550.

Originally part of the Margenau Mennonite Church, the Alexanderkrone members formed their own congregation in 1890, that same year constructing their own church building. Heinrich Koop was the elder, continuing in that position for more than 20 years. Drawing people from the neighbouring villages, by 1913 there were up to 1,700 adherents, including children.

Alexanderkrone experienced the terrors of revolution and civil war, as did all the other Mennonite villages in the Molotschna. On June 20, 1920 a major battle was fought in the Tiegerweide-Alexanderkrone area, the White Army temporarily pushing back the Reds in that conflict. As part of the later collectivization, many Molotschna farmers were expelled from their homes and forced onto the open steppe just south of Alexanderkrone, there to establish whatever homes they could manage on their own.

With the approach of German armies during World War II, first most of the men, then finally almost the entire Mennonite population (total of 321 people after June, 1941) were deported from Alexanderkrone to the far north of Russia or Siberia. Of the remaining few (19) Mennonites, most, if not all, left the area with the Great Trek of 1943.

ALEXANDERTHAL
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Alexanderthal was founded in 1820 as part of the Molotschna Colony. Most of the original settlers, led by Franz Goerz and Heinrich Balzer, came from Graudenz and Stuhm of the Vistula Lowlands. Twenty farmsteads of 65 dessiatines each were laid out along the Tschokrak River. Joined by a few from the Molotschna Colony, 16 pioneers settled in the first year; the other four farms were occupied by new emigrants from Prussia in 1821 and 1822. At the strong suggestion of *Oberschulze* Peter Toews, the village was name Alexanderthal in honour of Tsar Alexander I

The first few years were extremely difficult, grasshoppers destroying the crops in 1822 and 1823, snowstorms depleting the livestock in 1824 and 1825. With the encouragement of Goerz and Balzer the settlers maintained their spirit, and in time conditions improved. A quarry south of the village provided stones for house foundations. A nice forest was located just west, and a tree nursery on the east end of Alexanderthal. The usual school was built near the middle of the village. By census time March 4, 1835, there were 177 people, 89 male and 88 female. In April, 1848 Johann Kliewer was *Schulze*, Abraham Kasper and Heinrich Funk were councillors and Johann Janzen the teacher. In 1869 there were 15 *Vollwirtschaften*, 12 *Halbwirtschften* and 26 *Kleinwirtschaften*, likely with a total population of about 300.

In 1913 Alexanderthal had one steam mill, a windmill (owned by Heinrich Huebert) and a store. A Mennonite Brethren sanctuary, one of six serving the Molotschna congregation, was on the west end of the village.

Alexanderthal suffered the same disasters as did the other Molotschna villages during the revolution, the civil war and the subsequent Communist takeover. A number of people migrated to Canada in the 1920s; of those remaining, 51 men were taken during the Purges of the late 1930s, and 358 Mennonites were deported to the Russian north or Sibera before the German armies arrived in 1941. Very few Mennonites remained in the village after that time.

ELISABETTHAL
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Elisabetthal was founded in 1823 as part of the Molotschna Colony. Laid out along the Tschokrak River, plans for the original 22 and finally 25 *Wirtschaften* were organized by Mayor Gerhard Ens of Altonau and *Schulze* Peter Dick. Total area farmed measured eight by two verst, mostly suitable for growing grain. The first settlers came from Marienburg and the Grosses Marienburger Werder of the Vistula Delta. Elisabetthal was named in honour of Elisabeth, wife of Tsar Alexander I. By census time on March 2, 1835, there were 179 people in the village, 91 males and 88 females. In April of 1848 Peter Lohrenz was *Schulze*, Klaas Dick and Heinrich Barg were councillors and Heinrich Friesen the school teacher.

Elisabetthal residents were apparently quite conservative, and members of the Pordenau Mennonite Church. By the mid-1800s, however, a number were active in the Gnadenfeld Mennonite Church, which at the time was under the leadership of August Lenzmann. A small group of believers met in late November, 1859, in the home of Kornelius Wiens of Elisabetthal, and observed communion. This was followed by sharp words, and a number of members leaving a Gnadenfeld church meeting. Abraham Cornelssen, school teacher in Elisabetthal, was asked to write a letter of secession from the Mennonite Church. A meeting was called for Epiphany, January 6, 1860 at the home of Isaak Koop of Elisabetthal. On this occasion 18 heads of families signed the document, marking the official founding of the Mennonite Brethren Church. Of these 18, five were from Elisabetthal. Presumably Mennonite Brethren continued to be strongly represented in the village, in time likely worshipping in the sanctuary built in the neighbouring Alexanderthal. There was still, however, some Mennonite Church influence, Elder Peter Epp of Elisabetthal leading the Pordenau congregation in the early 1900s.

The village grew, although there was no industry or other major institution. By 1913 it had a population of 436 with 52 children attending school.

Elisabetthal suffered a fate similar to the other southern Molotschna villages during the revolution, the civil war and the subsequent Communist takeover. All remaining Mennonites were deported to the Russian north and Siberia before the German armies arrived in 1941, and likely none have returned to the area since then.

GNADENFELD IN 1912 (Page 37)

Gnadenfeld was founded in 1835 by a group of Groningen Old Flemish colonists from Brandenburg, led by Wilhelm Lange. Originally arriving in the Molotschna in the autumn of 1834, they wintered over in some of the existing villages, then moved out to the proposed area in the spring of 1835. Most of the original 40 full farm sites were occupied in 1835, a few more were filled in 1836, and the final three in 1840. Two main streets were laid out, each with 20 full farms on one side, 40 smaller plots on the other side. A narrow and eventually well treed *Kirchensteg* (Church Path) separated the two rows of full farms. Johann Cornies named the village Gnadenfeld because the Tsar had, in his mercy (*Gnade*), graciously bent the rules to allow emigration of the group to Russia, and field (*Feld*) because the site chosen for the new village was in the middle of the bald treeless steppes. Despite difficult early years Gnadenfeld grew, so that with completion of land redistribution in the 1860s, there were 34 full farms, 12 half farms and 38 small farms. A total of 84 establishments occupied 3,208 dessiatines, with a population of more than 580.

Under the capable leadership of Wilhelm Lange the Gnadenfeld church was, from the very beginning, very active in the spiritual development of the Molotschna. Home Bible studies and fellowship groups as well as mission festivals attracted many people from the surrounding villages. Eduard Wuest, pastor of the Separatist Lutheran Church of Neuhoffnung, often preached in Gnadenfeld. August Lenzmann was ordained as elder in 1854, and although somewhat conservative in outlook, he continued the progressive activities of the congregation. In 1857 a *Bruderschule* (Brotherhood School) was established in Gnadenfeld, the first teacher being David Hausknecht, later followed by Heinrich Franz, Johann and Friedrich Lange.

Not everyone was happy with the existing church. In December of 1859 a group of Gnadenfeld members, led by Johann Claassen and Jacob Reimer, left a church membership meeting. The following January 6, 1860, they helped found the Mennonite Brethren Church at an organizational meeting held at Elisabetthal. The group felt that by and large the Mennonite Church in the Molotschna no longer had true spiritual life, and included many members who were nominal Christians only.

Johann Lange, one of the teachers in the *Bruderschule* had received training in a German school steeped in Zionism. When he came to Gnadenfeld he brought this emphasis with him. Eventually a group called "Templars" or "Friends of Jerusalem" withdrew from Gnadenfeld membership in 1863. They requested, and in time were granted, permission to resettle. In 1868 they established a number of villages in the Kuban area of the Caucasus.

After the separation of the Mennonite Brethren and the Templars, the Gnadenfeld congregation no longer played the leading role it had formerly occupied in the spiritual life of the Molotschna. There was, however, continuing interest in education. The *Bruderschule* had closed down in 1863, but in 1873 a *Zentralschule* was established in the same building. This school served the region as the principal post elementary institution for many years with excellent teachers such as Hermann Lenzmann, Benjamin Ratzlaff and Johann Unruh. Before World War I, with Kornelius Martens as rector, it changed to a school of commerce. After the revolution it was again modified to become a seven grade *Arbeitsschule* (vocational school). In 1907 Kornelius J. Reimer established a girls' school, one of its longtime teachers being Katharina Reimer, daughter of the founder. It eventually merged with the Gnadenfeld school of commerce.

With reorganization of the municipalities throughout Russia in 1870, Gnadenfeld became the administrative centre of the Gnadenfeld Volost. This region consisted of the eastern part of the Molotschna, including 27 villages and slightly less than half the population. Wilhelm Ewert of Grossweide was the first *Oberschulze*.

On September 1, 1914, following announcement of a universal draft with the outbreak of World War I, 332 men of the Gnadenfeld district gathered in Gnadenfeld. From there they headed for Stulnevo, then by train to Ekaterinoslav, where most were assigned to the medical corps. Later, during the civil war, after the defeat of the Mennonite *Selbstschutz*, it was also in Gnadenfeld, just outside the district office, that two Mennonite representatives met General Dobenko to plead for Mennonite lives. The commander of the Red Army forces finally agreed that his troops would not kill, but were allowed to plunder for three days. Gnadenfeld also went through the post war famine, had a substantial part of its population emigrate in the mid 1920s, then underwent collectivization in the early 1930s. The Karl Marx Collective Farm had its headquarters in Gnadenfeld.

During the years of the Purge in the late 1930s, 65 men from Gnadenfeld were sent to northern Russia or Siberia, another 120 being evacuated just before the German armies arrived in October, 1941. Most of the Mennonite population left on the Great Trek when the German forces retreated in September, 1943, never to return to their homes.

Gnadenfeld is now called Bogdanovka, situated in the Chernigov district, near the Zaparozh'ye-Berdyansk highway. The surrounding land, once part of the Karl Marx Collective Farm, is likely managed by individual farmers.

HALBSTADT AND NEU-HALBSTADT IN 1913 (Page 38)

Halbstadt was founded in 1804, the most northern of the initial nine villages laid out just east of the Molochnaya River. *Oberschulze* Klaas Wiens chose the name, likely because some of the original settlers came from Halbstadt in Prussia. It was situated ten verst west of Tokmak, which had been established in 1784, and just across the river from Prischib, headquarters of the German colony founded on the west bank of the Molochnaya River in 1805.

Initially 21 full farms were laid out, each consisting of 70 dessiatines, for a total land area of 1,470 dessiatines. With the land redistribution of 1866 and 1869 an additional 28 small farms were added, increasing the total area to 1,923 dessiatines.

Early pioneer years were difficult, with a number of crop failures, and considerable loss of cattle from disease. The soil in the region, however, was fairly good, particularly suited to horticulture. The long distance to larger markets made delivery of produce very difficult, and therefore required that many items such as furniture and other equipment had to be manufactured locally.

With time agriculture developed a market orientation, and by mid century considerable wealth was concentrated in Halbstadt because of the high world price of wool. A number of major landowners had leased large areas of land for their huge flocks of sheep.

Halbstadt slowly developed small shops to meet the local manufacturing needs, then eventually an increasing number of larger industries. A brewery was built in 1809, a mill in 1810, a cloth factory in 1815-16. Johann Cornies recognized that not all young people in the Molotschna would be able to own their own farms, so in 1843 he established an industrial suburb south and east of Halbstadt, named Neu-Halbstadt. This development encouraged industry and gave additional opportunities for employment. Eventually Halbstadt boasted three vinegar factories, two large steam-power

mills, a starch factory, a barley mill, two tile factories, and two oil presses. Two large motor factories, Heinrich Schroeder, and Franz and Schroeder, as well as an automobile dealership, Sudermann Brothers, were located in Halbstadt. Raduga, a printing and publishing firm, a number of retail outlets and a credit union were established.

In 1816 Halbstadt became the administrative centre for the Molotschna Colony. During the time of Johann Cornies there was a regional power struggle, since Cornies lived in Ohrloff, but the district offices and many of the more reactionary landowners centred in Halbstadt. In 1871, with municipal reorganization of many areas of Russia, the Molotschna was divided into two regions. Halbstadt remained the headquarters of the Halbstadt Volost, encompassing the western 30 villages and slightly more than half the population.

Halbstadt was also an educational centre. It had, of course, the usual elementary school, but in 1835 a *Zentralschule* was founded. To this was added a teachers' college, a school of commerce (founded in 1907) and a girls' school. After the revolution the school of commerce became an agricultural college.

Members of the Mennonite Church (*Grosse Gemeinde*) who resided in Halbstadt were originally part of the Ohrloff-Petershagen congregation. Eventually, in 1858, a new church building was erected in Neu-Halbstadt to replace the one in Petershagen. Elders of this congregation were Bernhard Fast (1821-60), Johann Harder (1860-76) and Abram Goerz (1876-95). Bernhard Harder, well known preacher, teacher and poet, was a member from 1860-84. In time a Mennonite Brethren church was also built in Halbstadt.

Halbstadt was subject to the upheavals connected with the Russian Revolution, including the "Halbstadt Days of Terror"; it suffered through the civil war, the subsequent communist takeover, famine, emigration and collectivization. Being an industrial centre, it attracted an increasing number of non-Mennonites, so that in 1925 only a third of the 1,455 inhabitants were Mennonite. By 1941 it was 27% of the 7,348 people, and of these 489 were sent to northern Russia or Siberia at, or shortly after, the onset of the German invasion. Of the remaining Mennonites, most left the area with the Great Trek westward in September, 1943.

Halbstadt is now called Molotschansk; it is the second largest centre in the Tokmak District, whose capital is the city of Tokmak. The Raduga building has been levelled, with only a few trees in the empty lot. The volost headquarters and the old Heinrich Willms mansion stand empty, looking more and more dilapidated as the years go by. The Willms feed mill is still noisily plying its original trade. A lone traffic light regulates the flow of vehicles on the main street.

HIERSCHAU IN 1904
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HIERSCHAU IN 1982
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Hierschau was founded in the spring of 1848 as an expansion village of the Molotschna Colony. Johann Cornies planned for it to be a model village, although he died before the plans could be implemented. Probably 23 *Wirtschaften* were settled in 1848, the additional seven the following year. The village school was built in 1852. There never was a church building in Hierschau.

About 1862 at least six Hierschau families moved to the Crimea, most to the little village of Bruderfeld. In the 1870s almost all of these emigrated to the United States. With land redistribution in 1866 and 1869 Hierschau was also involved, thereafter the village plan including 30 *Vollwirtschaften* and 20 *Kleinwirtschaften*. Migration fever also struck Hierschau during the 1870s. In all, at least 26 family units consisting of 113 people emigrated, settling mainly in Henderson, Nebraska and Parker, South Dakota. With continued expansion, people also moved to other colonies in Russia, such as Sagradovka, Memrik, Alexanderpol, Neu Samara, Orenburg, Terek and Siberia.

Hierschau was never in the forefront of religious, educational or industrial development, although several prominent people lived in the village. Jakob G. Duerksen began as *Schulze* of Hierschau, then in 1905 he became the *Oberschulze* of the whole Gnadenfeld Volost. The predominant church membership in Hierschau remained the *Grosse Gemeinde* (Mennonite Church), the church building being in neighbouring Landskrone. Gerhard Plett of Hierschau was first a teacher, but in 1908 was ordained elder of the Landskrone church, a position which he held until poor health forced him to resign in 1928.

Hierschau suffered a fate common to other Molotschna villages during World War I, the Revolution and the subsequent civil war and famine. Heinrich Braun was in charge of the Hierschau and Waldheim *Selbstschutz* units during the time of anarchy, later joining the White Army, then escaping to the United States. A major rearguard action between the temporarily fleeing Red and advancing White armies was fought near Hierschau. During this period there was actually only sporadic pillage and murder in the village. When the opportunity to emigrate came in the mid-1920s, at least 26 family units consisting of 115 people left for Canada.

In 1930-31 Hierschau was collectivized with at least 20 families being evicted from their homes. The land became part of the Gorki Collective Farm with headquarters in Waldheim, the larger village just to the east. During the Purge of 1936-38 at least 11 Hierschau men were imprisoned.

With the German invasion during World War II most men between 16 and 65 were deported from the Molotschna, including 37 from Hierschau. On October 1, 1941 all Hierschau citizens were collected at the Stulnevo railroad station in preparation for deportation, but the Soviets simply did not have time to complete their plans, so everyone returned home. With the subsequent retreat of the German armies virtually all Hierschau residents joined the Great Trek westward on wagons. By January, 1945 most people reached Lower Saxony. After the conclusion of the war 28 Hierschau families either decided to or were forced to return to the Soviet Union; only a few returned to their home village. At least six families stayed in Germany or emigrated to North or South America.

After the war Hierschau was rebuilt, the Russian and Ukrainian population erecting the houses in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1982 the village was called Vladovka 2, was a part of the collective farm and likely a suburb of Waldheim (Vladovka 1). The previously functioning creamery had not been rebuilt, there was no mill and no school, although there was a small general store. Few Mennonites remain in the area.

OHRLOFF TIEGE
(Page 40)

OHRLOFF

Ohrloff was first settled by 12 families from Prussia in 1805, followed by eight further families in 1806, then likely a few more in 1807, to form one of the villages of the Molotschna Colony. Land area was six verst long by one and one-half to three verst wide. Early years were difficult with the neighbouring Nogier nomads helping themselves to horses and cattle. There were severe hailstorms, grasshoppers, cattle disease epidemics, and even an earthquake (1838). According to the census of January 28, 1835, there were 219 inhabitants, 112 males and

107 females; Klaas Reimer was mayor.

With time, and particularly under the guidance of one of its leading citizens, Johann Cornies, Ohrloff prospered and became one of the prominent villages of the Molotschna. Agriculture was vastly improved, but so was education. Cornies was pivotal in the establishment of the Ohrloff *Zentralschule* in 1848. By 1857 there were 21 *Vollwirtschaften* in Ohrloff, cultivating 1,365 dessiatines of land, but also 23 landless families. Despite extensive emigration to daughter colonies, there were 548 inhabitants in 1910, a total of 127 families.

The Ohrloff-Petershagen-Halbstadt Mennonite Church was Flemish in origin, the area of congregational jurisdiction varying from time to time. In 1905 the Ohrloff church, with members also in Tiege, Rosenort and Blumenort had 980 members, with 508 children; Abram Goerz was elder.

Educational emphases continued with the opening of the Ohrloff Girls' School in 1908, although the building was actually located in Tiege. A 50-bed hospital began functioning in 1910, even having an isolation ward for patients with communicable diseases.

Ohrloff suffered the same fate as other Mennonite villages in the area during the revolution, civil war and subsequent Communist takeover. The Mennonite population had been considerably diluted by then, but the Communists deported all the remaining 332 to northern Russia or Siberia prior to German occupation of the area in October of 1941.

TIEGE

The Molotschna Colony was founded in 1804, with nine villages being established along the Molochnaya River. In 1805 another eight villages were laid out east of the original group, along the tributaries leading into the river. Tiege was one of the second group of villages, its 20 original families settling just south of the Kuruschan River, between Ohrloff and Blumenort. Most of the immigrants came from the Marienburg and Elbing areas of Prussia, although the village was named, at the request of an elderly gentleman Kornelius Toews, after his favourite river. Most of the allotted 1,300 dessiatines of land lay south of the village, and while it appeared to be bleak and barren, the two rivers flowing through it gave a fair area of low lying, very productive pasture land.

By 1855 the original 20 homesteads had expanded to include a considerable number of landless families. When land redistribution occurred in the 1860s another 23 small farms were established, increasing the total land area to 1,668 dessiatines.

Tiege actively participated in the political, cultural, religious and commercial life of the Molotschna Colony.

With the encouragement of Johann Cornies, Abraham Toews of Tiege was elected as *Oberschulze* of the Molotschna in 1842, continuing in that position until he died in 1848. Kornelius Toews was elected to the same office in 1868, then continued, after the division of the Molotschna into two regions, as *Oberschulze* of the Halbstadt Volost until 1873.

As well as the regular elementary school, Tiege also boasted a girls' school (the Ohrloff girls' school was actually situated in the east end of Tiege). The well known Maria School for the Deaf and Dumb (*Marien-Taubstummenschule*) was begun in 1885 in the home of Gerhard Klassen of Blumenort. It was founded in honour of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reign of Tsar Alexander II, and named in honour of his empress. In 1890 new expanded facilities were built in Tiege which could accommodate 40 students. Well trained teachers offered a nine year elementary school education in this showpiece of Mennonite compassion for the disadvantaged. A doctor's office also provided medical services in Tiege.

The principal house of worship for Mennonite Brethren in the Molotschna was in Rueckenau, but a number of subgroups formed congregations and built at least five buildings in other villages. One of these was in Tiege.

While not a major industrial centre, Tiege did have some commercial activity. Kornelius Funk manufactured various types of wagons. There were two stores in the village, one of which was a bookstore.

Tiege endured the terrors of the Russian Revolution and the following civil war. It was one of the first four villages of the Molotschna to organize a *Selbstschutz* (defensive brigade) to protect itself from roving bands of anarchists. Yet it was also the home of B.B. Janz, teacher, and leader of the Tiege Mennonite Brethren congregation. He was a strong advocate of non-resistance, and later did much of the organizational work to allow the massive migration of Mennonites to Canada in the mid 1920s.

Having undergone collectivization along with the rest of the Molotschna in the early 1930s, Tiege also lost 47 of its able bodied men who were sent to the north or Siberia prior to the outbreak of World War II. With the approach of the German armies in September of 1941, most of the Mennonites remaining in Tiege, a total of 484, were evacuated by the retreating Soviets. The village stood virtually empty when a homeless group of Mennonites from Tchongrav, Crimea, over a hundred people in all, moved in to find termporary shelter. Here they remained from October, 1941, until the German evacuation of the area in September, 1943. They too joined the Great Trek westward to escape the advancing Soviet armies, many eventually emigrating to Canada.

RUECKENAU
IN 1915
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The village of Rueckenau was founded in 1811 as part of the Molotschna Mennonite Colony. Twenty farmyards were laid out along the Kuruschan River, with the flooding river fertilizing the gardens every spring. The first year 11 families settled, eight of which had come from the Elbing area of Prussia the previous year. Eventually another nine families arrived, also from Prussia, to complete the 20 households.

Early times were difficult. Just north of Rueckenau an estate had been established by people from Tokmak, and they did not allow the Rueckenau farmers to cultivate the land. Government authorities at the time were more concerned with the Napoleonic Wars, so the situation was not cleared up for a number of years. In time, however, the settlers were able to proceed with their agricultural pursuits, and the village began to flourish. A new school was built in 1844, and a tree plantation was established south of the village.

As late as 1848 Rueckenau consisted of 20 *Vollwirtschaften*. The problems of the landless in the Molotschna became more acute in the 1860s, and with the redistribution of 1866 and 1869 this was changed. After 1869 Rueckenau had only 14 *Vollwirtschaften*, but there were 12 *Halbwirtschaften* and 34 *Kleinwirtschaften*, for a total of 60 households occupying 1,844 dessiatines of land. Obviously some of these yards were either never occupied or were abandoned by 1915, since at that time there were only 47.

A tavern was built on the east end of Rueckenau, which apparently was an embarrassment to the villagers. Even though most of the inhabitants were members of the Mennonite Church at Margenau, they were happy when a consortium bought the building in 1874 and converted it into a Mennonite Brethren church. Rueckenau was near the centre of the Molotschna, so it became the main meeting place for the Mennonite Brethren in the colony. Large attendance

forced removal of various partitions and even the addition of a new wing, but in time a new building was needed. On October 2, 1883 the new sanctuary, situated just east of the old one, was dedicated. Total cost was 8,500 rubles, much reduced by the large amount of work that was done gratis. Rueckenau continued to be the centre of Mennonite Brethren activities in the Molotschna for many years.

In 1895 Martin Friesen gave the Rueckenau congregation a house and garden to serve as a home for the elderly. Capacity for this family style institution was about 15 elderly or debilitated persons.

Rueckenau went through the same trials and tribulations as other villages of the Molotschna during the revolution and the subsequent civil war. With approach of the German armies during World War II the Rueckenau villagers were sent to the Halbstadt railroad station, but then returned home when the Soviets did not have time to evacuate them. In September of 1943 they joined the Great Trek with the retreating German forces, after which those who escaped emigrated to America, those who did not were sent to northern Russia or Siberia.

The beautiful Mennonite Brethren church still stands, but has been remodelled and now functions as a feed mill.

WALDHEIM IN 1916

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Waldheim was founded in 1836 by a group of Groningen Old Flemish Mennonites from Volhynia. They settled in the north east corner of the Molotschna along the Begim-Tschokrak River, on land which had been leased by Johann Cornies. The first year eight farmers settled, followed by 12 in 1838, then finally another 20 in 1840 for a total of 40. Their Volhynian homeland consisted mainly of forest (*Wald*), so Johann Cornies named the new village "Waldheim". Leading the original group from Volhynia was Kornelius Wedel, and he was also elected *Schulze* for the first ten years, followed in 1846 by Christian Schlabbach. Since the Waldheimers had established their own separate church, they also had their own elder, Peter Schmidt. Most came from the same region in Volhynia, and were relatively close knit, so they also had and maintained their own distinctive variation of Low German.

By 1853 there was a large number of landless families in the village, giving a total population of 961 people. With land redistribution in the 1860s, the total complement of farms was listed as 34 full farms, 12 half farms and 56 small farms, a total of 102 establishments occupying 3,496 dessiatines. Waldheim, both in terms of number of farms and land area was the largest village in the Molotschna. The Begim-Tschokrak River, controlled by dikes on either side, ran in an east-west direction through the middle of the village. Parallel to the river, on the north side, was the Landowners' Street, where the full farm owners resided, while south of the river was the Factory Workers' Street, where the two major factories were located and owners of the small farms lived.

Isaak J. Neufeld established a machine factory in Waldheim which specialized in producing motors, threshing machines and other agricultural equipment. The Koehn factory produced similar goods. Two large steam mills served the area, as did several wind mills. There were three stores, a post office and a doctor's office. In 1908 Kornelius Warkentin founded a hospital. In 1914 thirty beds of this hospital were dedicated to the care of the wounded of World War I.

Waldheim had an elementary school, but later a high school (*Fortbildungsschule*) was also established. There was the original Mennonite Church, as well as an active Mennonite Brethren congregation, having Peter Koehn, Gerhard Unruh and later Isaak Ewert as ministers.

Throughout the revolution and civil war the Mennonite population of Waldheim suffered the same atrocities as did other villages in the area. Because of the many factory workers living there, Waldheim participated in the political upheavals of the time in a more direct way. In 1906 a number of workers went on strike, threatening to demolish the factory where they were employed. A "social democratic" group apparently began functioning in Waldheim in 1916, blossoming to a "workers' uprising" in 1917. When Red Army troops occupied the region in February, 1918, the Waldheim Soviet administered the area. In January of 1922 the Mennonite leaders of the region were incarcerated in the basement of the house adjoining the hospital. Many were executed following the judgments of the Waldheim based court. Also in Waldheim, after he had helped alleviate starvation in the area by distributing MCC food, David M. Hofer of Chicago held evangelistic meetings at which many people sought and found salvation.

After the collectivization of the 1930s, roughly half of the population of 1,027 was Mennonite. An additional 53 men were sent to the north or Siberia just before the German armies arrived in 1941; the Soviets were unable to evacuate the bulk of the Mennonites because they simply ran out of time. Most of the Mennonite population, however, left the region with the Great Trek of September, 1943, retreating along with the German Army.

Now Waldheim is called Vladovka 1, and is in the Chernigov District of Ukraine. The village of 1,162 people (as of 1970) boasts a high school, a library, a house of culture and a branch office of the Agricultural Technical Institute. There is a 50-bed hospital (still the old buildings from the Mennonite era) and an Association of Knowledge. Vladovka 1 was the administrative centre of the Gorki Collective Farm, which occupied 9,900 hectares of land, with principal products said to be vegetables and cattle (1982).

MOLOTSCHNA COLONY REGION IN 1992

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The Molotshna Colony region was orignally, and still is, largely agricultural. Tokmak, long a shopping centre for Mennonites in the area, has continued to grow. Chernigovka has also increased in size. Melitopol', just to the south and west of Molotschna, is the predominant large city in the area. Administratively the whole area is in the Zaporozh'ye Oblast of Ukraine. Many of the Mennonite villages remain, although with different names. Some have been combined, for example, Orlovo encompasses the previous villages of Rosenort, Blumenort, Tiege and Ohrloff.

In the early 1930s the Molotschna was divided into a number of collective farms. Gnadenfeld, for example, was headquarters for the Karl Marx Collective Farm, Waldheim for the Gorki Collective Farm. Most of the southern and western villages were evacuated by the Soviets prior to the advance of the German army into the region in early October, 1941. The rest of the Mennonites abandoned the area when they fled with the German armies in September, 1943.

Very few Mennonites returned to the Molotschna area, that is, until tourists came searching for their roots in later years. Some of the buildings from the Mennonite times still stand. The churches, of course, had been abandoned, or were converted to other uses. The Mennonite Brethren Church in Ruecnenau is a feed mill. The *Zentralschule* in Gnadenfeld stands empty. The Willms feed mill in Halbstadt, on the other had, still plys its noisy trade and the hospital in Waldheim still admits patients.

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS WEST OF OMSK
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MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS NEAR OMSK
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Siberia, the part of Russia between the Ural Mountains and the Pacific ocean, is an almost endless expanse of forests, muskeg, steppes and desert. Wide rivers such as the Ob, Yenisey and Lena flow north into the Arctic Ocean. The 4,887,223 square miles extend across six time zones and are a million square miles larger than Canada.

Thousands of Mennonites know of Sibera only as a place of brutal exile, but it should not be forgotten that there were over 100 villages of Mennonites who voluntarily moved to this vast region. Principal areas of settlement were near Omsk (29 villages plus many estates), the Barnaul (Slavgorod) (58 villages) and Pavlodar (12 villages)colonies south east of Omsk, Minusinsk (2 villages) in Yenisei province, and later settlements along the Amur River (20 villages) in the far east.

The first Mennonite known to have moved to Siberia was Peter J. Wiens, who opened a business selling agricultural machinery in Omsk in 1897. He was rapidly followed by other businessmen and farmers who settled on or near the Trans Siberian Railroad from Petropavlovsk to Omsk and Tatarsk, a distance of aboaut 500 kilometres, to form the Omsk Mennonite Settlement.

A number of Mennonites lived in Petropavlovsk. Johann Friesen was owner of a steam flour mill in the city. Further east, three Friesen brothers, Peter, Johann and Nikolai, established Friesenov in 1901, six kilometres north of the railroad; Mikhaylovka was six kilometres from Friesenov. A number of Mennonite businesses were established in Issyl Kul. Numerous villages in the area included Friedensruh, Tiegerweide, Rosenort, Feodorvka and Petrovka. Margenau was settled 19 kilometres east of Issyl Kul, and later became the site of a secondary school. Villages nearby were Hamberg, Nikolaifeld, Alexanderkrone, Waldheim, Wiesenfeld and Beryesovkva. Moskalenko was a Mennonite busines centre, incuding steam flour mills, with the village Ekaterinovka in the area. Tchukreyevka, near Omsk, was the first agricultural village established by Mennonites in Siberia, in 1899. Smolyanovka and Maslyanovka were 12 kilometres north of Lyubinskiy on the Tyumen-Omsk Railroad. Mennonites, particularly businessmen, lived in Omsk itself. North east of Omsk was a cluster of villages among which were Kiryanovka, Chaldeyevka, Devyaterikovka, Trussovka, Kremlyovka and Chortitza. Throughout the whole area were also numerous private estates owned by Mennonites.

Total Mennonite population of the Omsk Settlement in 1926, 29 villages and many estates, occupying about 40,000 dessiatines, was 3,512. By and large they did well economically, partly because they originally came with money and had easy access to markets.

Village schools were established, but in some instances difficult to manage for the small widespread Mennonite groups. A school board established a secondary school in Kulomzino in 1911, first teachers being Gerhard J. Gaede, B.J. Schellenberg and Jakob F. Huebert. After World War I another secondary school was opened in Margenau with Abram A. Schierling and Nikolas Bartel as teachers.

The Omsk Mennonite Church was established in 1906; B. Fast was initially the leading minister. In 1911 Peter P. Bergen was elected elder, and in 1914 a sanctuary was dedicated in Alexandrovka.Numerous smaller congregations were spread throughout the area; in 1927 membership was over 400. The first Mennonite Brethren congregation, organized in Tchunayevka in 1901, was registered by Heinrich Ewert. Upon moving to the area, Elder Jakob G. Wiens shepherded this widespread flock, in time a total of ten localities, spread over 350 kilometres, with up to 600 members. A sanctuary was built in Margenau in 1907. When Elder Wiens moved to the Pavlodar Colony, Jakob F. Huebert was elected elder in 1913, serving until he emigrated to Brazil in 1929.

By 1930 all significant religious activity had ceased, the church leaders were exiled and the buildings confiscated. This was followed up by even more complete disintegration during the purges of 1937.

SAGRADOVKA COLONY
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Despite redistribution of land within the Molotschna, there were soon many landless families amid its population. To alleviate the situation a large parcel of land was purchased from Count Leo Kochubei in Kherson province, the deal being concluded on June 15, 1871. The 21,276 dessiatines lay to the west of the Ingulets River, a tributary of the Dniepr, and were obtained for 500,003 rubles. The region was dry and virtually treeless, the neighbouring population feeling that no one could really farm the open steppes. The colony was named Sagradovka after a large Russian village in the area (Zagradovka), which carried the name of the earlier owner of the region.

Settlement began in 1872, the area being divided into 16 villages. The standard size of farm was 32.5 dessiatines, and was sold to the settlers at 25 rubles per dessiatine, mostly on credit. One village, Orloff, village No.6, was designated for people with some available capital, each farm consisting of 65 dessiatines. Nikolaidorf was established in 1879 well north of the other villages, but considered itself to be part of the colony. Many of the villages were named after the original homes of the pioneers, most being from the Molotschna. The villages were also designated by numbers, apparently because the surrounding population found it difficult to pronounce the strange German names.

Six villages were established in 1872, Alexanderfeld (1), Neu-Schoensee (2), Friedensfeld (3), Neu-Halbstadt (4), Nikolaifeld (5), Orloff (6), and another three in 1873, Blumenort (7), Tiege (8) and Altonau (9). Later villages were, in 1874 Rosenort (10) and Muensterberg (11), in 1876 Gnadenfeld (12), in 1878 Schoenau (13), in 1879 Steinfeld (14) and Nikolaidorf (15), in 1882 Reinfeld (16) and in 1883 Alexanderkrone (17). Villages were well laid out, and developed according to a plan which included the planting of many trees in the area. Originally most of the settlers were very poor, but in time Sagradovka became a flourishing colony. The spacious and well constructed homes, and barns filled with horses and cattle demonstrated that it was no longer a destitute step-child of the Molotschna.

Industry soon supplemented the farm economy. Siemens in Blumenort and Wiebe in Orloff manufactured farm implements. There was a large flour mill in Tiege, with smaller ones in Alexanderfeld and Neu-Schoensee.

Sagradovka was an independent administrative area, with volost headquarters in Tiege. A post office, bank, drugstore and medical centre were also built in Tiege. In 1895 a three class-room *Zentralschule* was built in Neu-Schoensee. For a time there was also a three room private *Zentralschule* in Orloff.

A house of worship for the Mennonite Church was built in Nikolaifeld in 1891; by 1922 it had 1,241 members. Mennonite Brethren built a church in Tiege in 1888; it had 427 members in 1922. The Evangelical Mennonite Church was organized in Orloff in 1907. A building was erected in 1914, and by 1922 there were 214 members.

Population expansion which originally caused the establishment of Sagradovka continued there as well, with the daughter

colony spawning daughter colonies of its own in 1897, 1903, 1904 and 1908.

World War I halted further expansion of Sagradovka. In the following revolution and civil war the colony suffered tremendous losses. In late November, 1919, Makhno terrorists, often with the help of the neighbouring population, spread terror and destruction in the area. Using Shesternaya as a base, they attacked Gnadenfeld, Reinfeld, Orloff, Tiege, Muensterberg and Schoenau. In all 199 people were murdered, many more were maimed and many women raped. Much property was stolen or destroyed and many homes burned to the ground. In the famine which followed the civil war a further 329 persons starved to death.

Between 1930 and 1941, 448 people were deported from Sagradovka to the north of Russia or Siberia. At the outbreak of World War II almost all the men were evacuated, although all but 300 were eventually able to return. With the German retreat from the region in 1943 all the remaining 3,500 Mennonites departed with the German military. Most were, in time, overtaken by the Soviet forces and sent to the far north or to Asiatic Russia.

SCHLACHTIN AND BARATOV COLONIES
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In 1871-72 colonists from the Chortitza Colony bought 3,691 dessiatines of land in the district of Verknedneprovsk, province of Ekaterinoslav, from the Duchess of Repnin, daughter of Count Baratov. The 74 families settled in two villages, Neu-Chortitza (Novo Chortitza) and Gnadental (Vodyanaya) to form the Baratov Colony. In 1874 an additional 200 families (1,000 people), also from Chortitza, purchased 4,187 dessiatines west and north of the Baratov settlement from Captain Schlachtin. They established two additional villages, Gruenfeld and Steinfeld, constituting the Schlachtin Colony. Baratov and Schlachtin together formed one administrative unit. All Mennonites belonged to the Neu-Chortitza Mennonite Church. Schools were considered to be of considerable importance, and for a time there was even a secondary school in Gnadental.

The settlements did well economically. By 1905 the total population was 2,569. Unfortunately the revolution and civil war which followed World War I were responsible for much destruction. The subsequent communist takeover convinced many from Baratov to emigrate to Canada in 1923. Both colonies later suffered the fate of other Mennonite areas in the Soviet Union—forced collectivization, exiling of many people, especially the men, and the destruction of World War II.

SCHOENFELD COLONY
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The Schoenfeld Colony was situated in the district of Alexandrovsk, province of Ekaterinoslav, north of the Molotschna and east of Chortitza. It was different than most Mennonite colonies in that it consisted primarily of land purchased by individuals, and was scattered over a large area interspersed with other German and Russian settlements.

Nucleus of the colony was an estate of 5,185 dessiatines purchased from D.M. Brazol (giving rise to the name Brazol occasionally used for the colony) in 1868. The village of Schoenfeld was established on this land. In 1869 additional land was purchased from a nobleman named Chonuk. A *Bruderhof* Kovalicha was obtained when the Hutterites moved to the United States. From 1875-79 Blumenheim and Kronsberg (Kronberg?) as well as the estate Eichenthal were established. In 1885 further land was purchased from an owner named Samoylenko, and the village of Schoenbrunn founded.

Settlers to these various areas were predominantly from the Molotschna, although some also came from Chortitza, even a few from Prussia. Eventually the colony population is listed as having reached 2,000, occupying 69,259 dessiatines. After considerable lobbying the Mennonites, in 1873, were able to establish a volost to administer the far flung holdings. Abraham Driedger was one of the first *Oberschulzen*, Peter Harder the first secretary. In 1902 a new stone building was erected in Schoenfeld to house the volost offices.

The colony had 14 elementary schools and established a secondary school in Schoenfeld in 1907. Hermann Rempel was the first teacher. A Mennonite Church congregation was organized in Schoenfeld in 1868, although it remained an affiliate of the Lichtenau-Petershagen Church in the Molotschna. In 1883 a new house of worship was erected in Schoenfeld, also eventually in Blumenfeld and Rosenhof (Rosenhof was considerably west of the other villages, but still considered part of the colony). The first minister elected by the congregation, in 1873, was Peter Neufeld. In 1905 the Schoenfeld congregation had 276 baptized members, the other two a total of 90.

Schoenfeld Colony soon developed a number of industries. There were two brick factories in Rosenhof, flour mills in almost all areas, and a factory producing agricultural machinery at the Sofiyevka station. The village of Schoenfeld had a number of brick yards, a wagon factory and two sunflower seed presses. The farms of the area (at one time counted at 202 in the colony) raised sheep, cattle, hogs and horses. Hard winter wheat was commonly grown by the turn of the century.

After World War I the Schoenfeld Colony suffered the usual loss of life and destruction of property during the revolution and the following civil war. Communist takeover and destruction of World War II also followed the usual pattern.

SLAVGOROD MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS
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BARNAUL (SLAVGOROD) COLONY
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The Barnaul Colony (later called Slavgorod) was established in West Siberia on the desolate Kulundian Steppes, about 160 kilometres south of the Trans Siberian Railroad and 190 kilometres north of Pavlodar. Heinrich Krueger and Jakob Peters, sent by the landless of Orenburg in 1906, and joined by representatives from other colonies, arranged for free land in the area, with reduced railroad fares, start up loans and exemption from taxes. The flow of settlers onto the 60,000 dessiatines began in 1907, from Orenburg, but also from Sagradovka, Chortitza, Molotschna and other colonies. The initial settlement consisted of 36 villages, each having 20-30 farmsteads, about 40-50 hectares per farm.

Despite early difficulties due to a short growing season and distant markets, Mennonites continued to move to this area, establishing a cluster of satellite settlements. Glyaden (Lichtfeld), consisting of five villages, was established in 1908; Fuenfziger (3 villages) was founded in 1910; Pashnya (4 villages), Tchayatchy (3 villages) and Saratov (4 villages) were begun by 1912. Bas Agatch and Svistunvo settlements had two villages each.

By 1925 the whole Slavgorod settlement had grown to 58 villages with a population of 13,173.

Initially, Barnaul was one district, centred in Orloff, with Jakob A. Reimer an outstanding *Oberschulze* from 1910-14. In 1916 it was divided into two sections, Chortitza became the centre of the western eight villages, with *Oberschulze* Jacob Nickel. Under the communist government both regions were merged with the local Russian administration in 1923.

In 1909 the city of Slavgorod was established about 15 kilometres south of the colony. Government officials in that city helped Mennonite development; Mennonite business moved into the city; a Mennonite Brethren church was established there in 1914.

Agriculture, especially growing summer wheat, was the backbone of the Barnaul Colony, but industry soon developed. Blacksmith and carpentry shops expanded to a wagon and a fanning mill factory. Windmills and steam flour mills were built; there were grocery stores and farm implement dealers. In 1916 a branch line from the Trans Siberian railroad reached Slavgorod, greatly facilitating both agriculture and business in the region.

A hospital was built in Orloff in 1911, Dr. George Fast practising there for some time. Secondary schools were established in Orloff in 1918, also in Schoental, Gnadenheim and Alexanderfeld (Grishkovka), although most were soon forced to close. An orphanage was established by Peter Loewen of Halbstadt in 1919.

The Mennonite Church (known as Orloff or Schoensee congregation), established in 1908, was divided into five districts, Orloff, Gruenfeld, Reinfeld, Kleefeld and Markovka. Jakob Gerbrandt was leading minister of the Mennonite Church, which represented about two-thirds of the population. The Mennonite Brethren Church was also organized in 1908, and was also divided into five congregations, Schoenwiese, Schoental, Alexandrovka, Gnadenheim and Alexanderfeld. By 1917 this had grown to 12 congregations; the first elder was Johann Wiens, followed by Aron Reimer.

The revolution affected Barnaul very little, but Sibera was involved in the following civil war. Hopes of an independent Siberia with a German province were dashed when the Red armies were victorious. Initially able to provide food for other colonies in 1921, the area required help from the American Mennonite Relief in subsequent years to stave off famine. When the true intentions of the communist government became apparent some people tried to leave, but no more than 200 actually got to Canada or Mexico in the 1920s. In 1929 some were able to emigrate to Paraguay, but most who had gone to Moscow were shipped back in freight trains.

In 1930-31 the region was collectivized, many farmers and presumably religious leaders were exiled. When European Russian Mennonites were sent to Siberia during World War II, some eventually made their way to Barnaul. After the time of Stalin there has been considerable revivial of religious activity. Many new conversions took place, a Mennonite Brethren church being established in Glyaden in 1956.

MENNONITE COLONIES ON THE VOLGA RIVER
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Tsarina Catherine II of Russia published a manifesto in 1763 inviting foreign colonists, especially Germans, to settle on land recently taken from the Turks. Russian ambassadors in the various German states actively promoted emigation. In 1764, a trickle actually reached Russia, but in the following years the numbers increased, so that by the end of 1767 four thousand families had left Germany. Many migrants originated in Hesse, and after a lengthy arduous trip settled along the banks of the Volga River, south of Saratov.

Mennonites eventually also settled along the Volga River, but at a much later date, further up the river, and in smaller numbers. Only the first two colonies were settled by people from outside Russia.

Am Trakt was founded near Saratov in the spring of 1854, initially by 31 families from Prussia. Alt Samara (Alexandertal) was established near Samara in 1859 by pioneers from West Prussia under the leadership of Claas Epp, Sr. Neu Samara (Pleshanovo), on the Tok River, was begun in 1890 by settlers from the Molotschna Colony. Ufa (Davlekanovo) was established in 1894 near the city of Ufa, which is close to the Ural Mountains, by individuals mostly from the Molotschna. Orenburg (Deyevka) was originally founded by the Chortitza Colony near the city of Orenburg in 1894; the Molotschna Colony joined the settlement in this area one year later. Bezenchuk (Pesochno) was begun in 1897 near Samara by 15 families from Alt Samara.

ALT SAMARA COLONY
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Alt Samara (also known as Alexandertal) was established in 1859 by settlers from West Prussia. The 9,794 dessiatines on the west bank of the Kondurcha River, about 120 kilometres north of Samara, were laid out to form eight villages. Stipulations to this last of the original Mennonite settlements founded in Russia included a deposit of 350 thaler per family and a promise to be model farmers.

The original pioneers, under the leadership of Claas Epp,Sr., established the village of Alexandertal in 1859 with 55 farmsteads and a total population of 255. Neuhoffnung was begun in 1860 with 25 farmsteads and 142 people. These were followed by Marienthal, Grotsfeld and Muravyevka in 1863, Orloff in 1867, and Liebental, Schoenau, Lindenau and Marienau in 1870. The latter three were united into a single village at the turn of the century and named Krasnovka. Besides these settlements there were 53 farms near the villages, but scattered in the region. Farms in the colony were given only to Mennonite immigrants, but they brought with them tradesmen, carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, tailors, who were mostly Lutherans, but even included a few Catholics.

The Rettungstal region bordering on Lindenau, originally designated for Lutheran settlers, was purchased by Mennonite farmers in the early 1880s. Various individuals bought farms off the colony, for example in Starey Buyam, Kolyzovka, Bessovka and Alexandrovka. In 1897 a group of 15 young farmers leased 2000 dessiatines 56 kilometres from Samara, but only five kilometres from the railroad station Bezenchuk. They were progressive, using the expertise of a nearby agricultural research station.

Initially progress in Alt Samara was slow. Distance to markets was a limiting factor, the nearest town being Koshki, five kilometres from Mariental. With modernization in farm equipment, the establishment of a dairy and cheese factory by 1890, and better foreign grain markets, the economic situation improved. Soon there were a number of cheese factories; the two inital windmills expanded to six large mills; there was even a farm implement dealership. In 1907 an agricultural society was established, with particular interest in the dairy industry. With completion of the Simbirsk-Bugulma railroad in 1911, economic progress was rapid. Produce could easily by shipped, and supplies obtained through the nearby Pogruznaya railroad station. By 1913 there were 236 families with 1,144 individuals in the volost.

Each village had an elementary school, where High German was the language of instruction, eventually also Russian. A secondary school was built in Alexandertal by the government, the colony taking over complete management in 1917, changing it to a *Fortbildungsschule.*

A church building was erected in Alexandertal in 1866, and since it served the whole colony, the total congregation was about 1,000 people. The first elder was Dietrich Hamm, followed by Jacob Toews. In 1883 a number of settlers became Mennonite Brethren, establishing an independent congregation in 1886, with a building in Mariental. In 1913 the Alexandertal Mennonite Church had 570 baptized members, total congregation of 1,010, the Mennonite

Brethren consisted of 27 families with 131 individuals.

In 1917 the Revolution caused considerable unrest in the region, and soon thereafter there were serious threats to the economic and religious life. In the 1920s spiritual renewal increased church membership, but increasing numbers of arrests by the new government caused some people to emigrate. In 1929 collectivization and liquidation of private property was accompanied by exile of many to distant labour camps in the Russian north, Siberia and Kazakhstan. During World War II the remaining Alexandertal Mennonites were banished from the region.

AM TRAKT COLONY
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In 1847 Prussia passed a conscription law, which led the Mennonites to send Claas Epp, Sr. and Johann Wall to explore the possibility of further emigration to Russia. Permission was granted for 100 families to settle, provided they met certain conditions. In the autumn of 1853 a group of 22 families left for Russia. In the spring of 1854 they, together with an additional nine families direct from Prussia, moved onto the territory chosen by their leaders. This land was in the province of Samara, near the Tarlyka River, a smaller tributary of the Volga, on a tract used to haul salt (*Salztrakt*). By prior arrangement each three families of farmers brought one tradesman family; this made it easier to build homes, as well as a roomy structure for school and church services. The first village, Hahnsau, consisting of 25 families with 163 persons, had one minister and two teachers. Eventually ten villages were founded. They were Hahnsau (1854), Koeppental (1855), Lindenau (1856-59), Freseneheim (1856-59), Hohendorf (1862), Lysanderhoeh (1864), Orloff (1871), Ostenfeld (1872), Medemtal (1872), and Valuyevka (1875).

In 1880 there was a church division, and the entire population of Hahnsau, together with settlers from other villages left on a trek to central Asia under the leadership of Claas Epp Jr. Hahnsau, with its land, was sold to non-Mennonites. In 1897 there were 197 families in the Am Trakt Colony, a population of 1,176 occupying a total of 15,402 dessiatines of arable land.

The settlement prospered despite the fact that the land was not ideal. Farmers grew wheat and rye as well as barley and oats. Various breeds of cattle, horses and sheep were raised. In 1908 a cheese factory was established, and in 1910 an agricultural association founded. Additional land was purchased when it was needed for expansion. A *Zentralschule* was built in Koeppental; fire, theft, accident and crop insurance were available to the colony inhabitants.

The Am Trakt Mennonite Church (Koeppental-Orloff) was organized soon after the original settlement, the first elder being Johann Wall. The congregation had two buildings, the first church was erected in Koeppental in 1866, the other was in Orloff. In 1905 the total church community was 1,535, with 775 baptized members. Mennonite Brethren evangelists visited the settlement and also organized an M.B. congregation.

Am Trakt men served in hospital work during World War I. The settlement became part of the Volga Soviet Socialist Republic in 1924; during this period (1923-27) there was some economic recovery. After 1929 many Mennonite leaders were exiled, and with the German invasion in 1941 most of the population was evacuated to Asiatic Russia.

NEU SAMARA COLONY
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Neu Samara (also known as Pleshanovo) was established in 1891 by settlers from the Molotschna. The colony bought 20,388 dessiatines of land for 664,416 rubles in the Luxemburg District, Region Busuluk, 400 kilometres east of Samara. The parcel of land, largely south of the Tok River, was purchased from a number of land owners, among them Krassikov, Pleshanov and Bogomasov.

Intended for Molotschna landless families, pioneers to this colony received farmsteads, but had very few other resources, so initial development was slow. Farmers had to adjust to different soil and much longer and more severe winters. Droughts devastated crops about every five years.

Originally 12 villages were laid out, but by 1917 there had been expansion to 14 villages and at least nine separate estates, 3,670 people occupying almost 32,000 dessiatines.

Each village started with an elementary school, although buildings were of clay bricks with thatched roofs, and instruction was quite rudimentary. A secondary school was established in Lugovsk in 1908, moving into a brand new building in 1910. Medical services were at first primitive, but in time there was a doctor. In 1907 a hospital founded by G.G. Voth was dedicated in Pleshanovo; it was enlarged when the district took over its management in 1912.

In time there were small shops in each village, with two larger stores in the colony. By 1917 there were two farm implement dealers, a cheese factory, a number of metal machine shops, furniture factories and one painting business. There were three steam-driven mills and one water-powered mill on the Tok River.

The Pleshanovo Mennonite Church was established in 1891, the first services taking place at a temporary camp near the mill on the Tok River. A sanctuary meant to serve the whole colony was built in Pleshanovo village, and dedicated in 1900. In 1905 the elder was Daniel Boschmann, and the baptized membership stood at 1,034.

Only few initial settlers were Mennonite Brethren, but ther numbers swelled through the work of itinerant ministers such as David Duerksen from the Crimea. Eventually a large church building was erected in Lugovsk. At the dedication of the new facility in 1901 a choir from Ufa under the direction of Kornelius G. Neufeld sang a number of songs, concluding with Handel's glorious "Hallelujah Chorus". The 3,000 guests who had packed the auditorium were served a lunch. Abram Martens was leader of the congregation from 1893 to 1926. In 1909 an Allianz church was established in Donskoye, and built a sanctuary in that village. In time the members drifted to the Mennontie Brethren, Donskoye becoming an affiliate of the Lugovsk congregation.

Neu Samara suffered little during the revolution, but the front passed through the area on several occasions during the civil war. In 1919-20 the Neu Samara settlement became part of the Bashkir Republic, beginning a period of frequent requisitioning and oppression. Following the request of a delegation sent to Moscow, Neu Samara and Orenburg were transferred to the administration of the Russian regional government in 1921. In the 1920s a number of people left the area, at least 104 migrating to Canada in 1926.

During the collectivization of 1929-30 many, especially wealthier farmers and religious leaders, were exiled to Siberia or the far north, but the settlement was not totally destroyed, leaving a considerable number of Mennonites in the area. Church congregations were disbanded, the buildings being used as clubs or for schools. Initially all 14 villages formed one collective farm, but later they were divided into three administrative regions.

Religious life seems to have persisted and showed renewal even during Stalin's later years. By the 1980s there was at least one flourishing Mennonite Brethren Church in Donskoye, with Pastor Daniel Janzen. The land in the region was part of the Karl Marx

Collective Farm centred at Podolsk.

In recent years, particularly after breakdown of the Iron Curtain, many Mennonites left the area, migrating to Germany as *Aussiedler.*

ORENBURG COLONY
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Orenburg (also known as Deyevka) was founded when the Chortitza land commission bought 24,668 dessiatines of land from the brothers Deyevka, in the province of Orenburg, 75 verst from the city of Orenburg. Between 1894 and 1903 fifteen villages were settled. The Molotschna also purchased land in the area, and starting about 1895, established eight villages just south and east of the Chortitza settlers, on 11,382 dessiatines.

Initial settlement years were difficult, many pioneers returning to their original homes. Long winters, theft by surrounding people, remote markets, poor soil with frequent crop failures made life difficult. In 1907-08 many Orenburgers joined others from the Ukraine to establish new settlements in Siberia. In time, however, the economy of the area improved. Flour mills, implement and machinery stores, carpentry and metal shops as well as other businesses were established.

Each village in Orenburg had its own elementary school, and in 1907 a secondary school was established in Pretoria. Additional secondary schools were founded in Deyevka in 1918, in Klubnikovo in 1920. In 1923 a Bible school was begun, the instruction first being given in homes, then in the Mennonite Brethren Church in Kamenka. The government closed the school in 1927.

Initially affiliated with the Chortitza congregation, the Mennonite Church was based in Deyevka (1,103 members in 1913) and Nikolayevka (with buildings in Stepanovka and Chernoye Osero). Mennonite Brethren were at first part of the Einlage church, but in 1901 became an independent congregation. They had buildings in Kamenka, Klubnikovo (594 members in 1913) and Karaguy.

After the revolution the 25 Orenburg villages in the area were organized into an independent volost, headquarters in Kitchkas. *Oberschulze* was Jacob W. Pries. The Bashkir Republic claimed the region, but Mennonites were then constantly vulnerable to exploitation by the surrounding population. Matters improved somewhat when the colony was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Russian regional government.

In 1920-21 there were crop failures, the resulting famine requiring the help of the American Mennonite Relief.

On February 1, 1926, total population of the entire Orenburg settlement was 5,767. That same year at least 300 people emigrated to Canada under the leadership of Peter P. Dyck. Others attempted to leave Russia via Moscow in 1929, but many were returned to their homes or were exiled.

The German armies did not reach Orenburg during World War II, so the area was not evacuated. Since 1955 conditions have gradually improved. Land was, of course, managed by collective farms, but there was active church life in the region. There are a number of Mennonite Brethren churches in the area, including one in the city of Orenburg.

More recently many Mennonites have left the area to resettle in Germany as *Aussiedler.*

UFA COLONY
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Ufa (also known as Davlekanovo) was established in 1894 near the city of Ufa, close to the Ural Mountains. Individual Mennonites, farmers and businessmen, from southern Ukraine, but also from the Crimea, various daughter colonies and Alt Samara, settled in and around Davlekanovo, beginning about 1890. Because it was on the Ufa-Samara railroad line this town remained the economic centre of the colony. Families and groups of settlers purchased land in the area, the newly established villages often retaining the names of the original landowners, such as Gortschakovo, Kulikovo, Golyschevo and Suruvo. In all, 19 scattered settlements appeared in the region.

Davlekanovo, basically a Tatar town, soon had a large Mennonite quarter. There were two Mennonite churches, at least three steam flour mills, factories, a number of warehouses and a bank. A secondary school, first with seven, then with nine grades, became the focal point of Mennonite activities. Established in 1908 with Kornelius G. Neufeld as director, it was, surprisingly for those times, coeducational. Throughout the years the school had well qualified teachers, including Franz C. Thiessen and Johann P. Perk. Literary evenings sponsored by the school on occasion might involve presentations of oratorios and dramas. The Mayak Bible School was founded in Davlekanovo by Karl Friedrichsen in 1923, but as forced to close in 1926.

Franz A. Klassen, owner of a 3000-dessiatine estate in the region, was instrumental in the founding of a school for poor children (*Armenschule*) in Beryesovka. Jakob J. Martens, formerly teacher in Sagradovka, was the dedicated principal of this school from 1901 until he died of typhus of 1922.

The Mennonite Brethren Church, founded in 1898, was centred in Gortschakovo, with affiliate congregations in Beryesovka, Karanbasch, Davlekanovo and Yurmankey, all but the latter also having sanctuaries. With leadership of ministers such as Wilhelm Baerg, Heinrich K. Siemens and Jakob J. Martens, membership grew to 300. The Mennonite Church, also founded in 1898, had its main building in Davlekanovo. Leading minister for many years was Gerhard Dyck. In 1905 membership was 153. Franz F. Martens served the church during the difficult times after the revolution until he was exiled to Siberia.

The revolution and subsequent civil war were catastrophic for the prosperous Ufa Colony, with armies frequently plundering the area. The subsequent typhus epidemic claimed many victims, as did the famine of 1920-22. Numerous families emigrated to Canada in 1924-25. Despite these losses, there were still 1,831 Mennonites in the area in 1926, occupying 10,222 dessiatines of land. Many of those remaining gathered in Moscow in 1929, a few eventually settled in South America, but most, unfortuantely, were banned to Siberia or the north. Very little has been heard from this area since 1939, and visitors to the region after the time of Stalin found few, if any, Mennonites living there.

VOLHYNIA
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Volhynia is a part of eastern Europe located directly west of Kiev, and north east of the Carpathian Mountains. Originally a part of Poland, after the second partitioning of that country in 1793 it became part of Russia. It is now a western portion of Ukraine.

Because of increasing discrimination against Mennonites in Prussia, a significant number moved to south Russia between 1788 and 1797, but a small number also moved to Michalin, south west of Kiev in 1791. Many of these Mennonites later, in 1801-12, resettled to Volhynia to form a cluster of villages just south of Ostrog. These included Karolswalde, Antonovka, Karolsberge, Jadvinin, Fuerstendorf and Fuerstental. Benjamin Dircks was ordained elder of the group in 1817, Tobias Unruh in 1853. In 1874, under the leadership of Tobias Unruh, virtually the whole group emigrated to the United States, settling in Kansas and South Dakota.

Additional Dutch-Prussian Mennonites moved to Volhynia, usually in relatively small groups. They eventually established the villages of Jozefin and Zofyovka north

east of the city of Luck. Others established Waldheim and Dosidorf south west of Novograd-Volynskij, another group Horodyszcze, Bereza and Melanienwald north west of the same city. From 1836 to 1840 about forty families from these groups left Volhynia to settle in the Molotschna, founding the village of Waldheim. Some people were dissatisfied with their new home and returned to Volhynia in 1848, founding the village of Heinrichsdorf north of Berdichev. In 1874 most of these people emigrated to America.

A number of Swiss Mennonite groups also moved to Volhynia. Some originally settled in Michalin in 1797, then in time they settled in the Dubno area of Volhynia, first founding the village of Vignanka, then also moving to the neighbouring Futtor and Zahoriz. Another group likely moved to Podolia, then to Urzulin and Michelsdorf, then finally to Volhynia to found Edwardsdorf in 1807. In time the Vignanka people seem to have joined the Edwardsdorf congregation. With increasing scarcity of land near Dubno a considerable portion of the Edwardsdorf population in 1861 moved eastward to found the villages of Kutusovka and Neumannovka. The church building was situated between the two villages, and with continued village sprawl, houses soon reached the three mile distance from one village to the other, the complex being known collectively as Kutusovka.

Generally speaking the conditions offered the Mennonites in Volhynia were favourable, including religious freedom, a fair number of economic concessions and complete liberty as to vocations. The repeated moving, sometimes because of ecclesiastical differences, other times because of poor land, and the economic disadvantages of primitive agriculture, kept the Mennonite communities at a fairly elemental level. Church structure included elder, minister and deacon. Elementary schools were present, administered by the church, with very little opportunity for further education. There was little interchange between the Swiss and Prussian groups of Mennonites, certainly even less with other religious groups.

The great majority of both the Prussian and Swiss Mennonites emigrated to America in 1874, mostly to Kansas and South Dakota, leaving only a few stragglers behind.

YAZYKOVO COLONY
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The Yazykovo Colony was founded in 1869 in the Russian province of Ekaterinoslav, just north of the Chortitza Colony. The land was purchased by the Chortitza Colony for purposes of expansion from a nobleman named Yazykovo: 8,655 dessiatines were bought at a cost of 240,000 rubles, with another 961 dessiatines bought privately.

The colony consisted of eight villages, at least four of which were established in 1869. These were Nikolaifeld (Nikolaipol), Franzfeld (Varvarovka), Eichenfeld (Dubovka) and Adelsheim (Dolinovka). Hochfeld (Morozovo) and Paulsheim were likely founded a few years later. Petersdorf (Petershivka) had previously been settled (1833), but was considered part of the colony. Reinfeld, a *khutor*, was also considered to be part of Yazykovo.

Originally 147 farms were settled, with 50 dessiatines land each, for which the settlers paid 33 rubles per dessiatine. The colony soon became quite prosperous, with many of the simple homes replaced by more elabourate residences. By 1911 there were 440 families with a total population of 2,200. Nikolaipol (this village was commonly known by its Russian name) was the site of the volost headquarters.

Soon after Nikolaipol was founded a congregation was established as a subsidiary of the Chortitza Mennonite Church. Early ministers were Peter Penner, Isaak Klassen and Anton Loewen. In 1888 a church was built between Nikolaipol and Franzfeld. In 1905 the church community totalled 1,046 people, of whom 240 were baptized members; the congregation was drawn from all eight villages of the colony. The church became independent in 1920 when Heinrich D. Epp was ordained elder. In 1928 there were 472 baptized members, but in 1935 the church building was confiscated and Heinrich Epp left the community.

The Mennonite Brethren also organized a congregation between 1875-80, with Peter Peters, Cornelius Fehr and Martin Koslowsky as ministers. A chapel was built in Nikolaipol, although members lived in all eight villages. Originally this congregation was a subsidiary of the Einlage M.B. Church, but in time it too became independent.

Right from the beginning each village had its own elementary school. In 1906 a *Zentralschule* was established in Nikolaipol, with an enrollment of about 100 students. This school was later changed to an agricultural college and was taken over by the communist government.

Together with Chortitza the Yazykovo Colony suffered the ravages of revolution and war in its later history. It was attacked, plundered and partially destroyed during the civil war. Eichenfeld and Petersdorf were almost completely annihilated. On the night of October 26, 1919, Eichenfeld was attacked by Makhno; 79 men and three women were murdered. The remaining population fled from the area (original village is Eichenfeld [1]),and resettled near Hochfeld as Eichenfeld [2]. In Hochfeld 19 persons were murdered in 1919, in Nikolaipol 13, and in Franzfeld there were 11.

When the Soviet government took over, the villages were collectivized, each with about half the previous land area. Between 1929 and 1941 political and religious suppression continued. In Nikolaipol 113 people were exiled, in Hochfeld 53 and in Adelsheim at least 20. In Franzfeld 85 persons were exiled, and another 36 evacuated eastward during the German invasion.

With the German occupation of 1941-1943 church life was again possible, and there were churches in Nikolaipol, Adelsheim and Hochfeld. Each of these villages had a choir. When the German forces evacuated the area in 1943, most of the Mennonite population went with them. It is thought that about half were eventually sent back to the Soviet Union. The rest were able to settle in the West.

FORESTRY CAMPS
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Following the defeats of the Crimean War, the Russian government felt that revamping the military structure was necessary. As a result universal conscription, hinted at as early as 1870, became law in 1874. Mennonites, fearing that their principle of non-resistance was being compromised, began negotiations with the government. A substantial number left Russia for North America, but those remaining signed an agreement on September 19, 1880, whereby young men would serve their military time in forestry (*Forstei*) camps. These camps were to be separated from outsiders, not too far from their own settlements and under their own jurisdiction. The Mennonites would finance construction of barracks, food and clothing and provide ministers to oversee the spiritual welfare in the camps. The government provided the sites and the basic pay for the men.

Six camps were to be built within three years, although the number was soon increased to eight; as well, a unit was established to combat the Phylloxera aphid in the vineyards of the Crimea. Basic purpose of the forestry camps was to plant forests on essentially bare countryside, to establish tree nurseries and to plant model orchards. The usual peacetime complement was about 1,000 men. Names of those chosen to serve the four years were drawn by lot from among

those eligible each year. Income to support the camps came largely from a poll and land tax levied by the Mennonites, although this was changed to a property tax in 1909. Budget for the first year was 126,000 rubles, this increased to 221,766 rubles by 1909 and to 347,492 rubles in 1913.

With the outbreak of World War I the alternative service was expanded to include medical orderly, road building and other services as well as forestry. In all, 14,000 Mennonite men were mobilized, of which 7,000 were medical orderlies (*Sanitaeter*), a few hundred built roads, and the majority of the rest served in the forestry camps. This meant tremendous expansion of the facilities. But in 1918-19, with unstable conditions in the country following the revolution, the forestry camps were abandoned, and the mobile property which remained was recovered.

The known camps prior to 1918 were Anadol (Veliko Anadole), built in 1881, capacity 170 men; Azov, built in 1881, in 1913 had 143 men, area of 1,665 dessiatines of which 971 were planted by 1909; Razyn, built in 1882; Vladimirov, built in 1882, capacity 131 men, in 1913 had 3,000 dessiatines of which 1900 were planted; Neu Berdyansk (Neu Berdyan), built in 1883; Alt Berdyansk (Alt Berdyan), formerly demonstration plantation of the Molotschna Colony, barracks arranged in 1883; Phylloxera Unit, established in 1885 to find and exterminate Phylloxera aphids in vineyards of the southern Crimea; Schwarzwald (Chornole) established before 1909; Sherebkovo (initially called Ananyevo), established 1907, capacity 75 men; Baital, established 1913 as affiliate of Sherebkovo; Altagir, affiliate of the Berdyansk units; Issyl Kul, established 1914 to serve men from West Siberia, started with 44, with up to 170 men during World War I. Altogether there were 11 permanent camp sites, with the one mobile unit in the Crimea.

CLAAS EPP JOURNEY TO CENTRAL ASIA

(Map 1 Page 60)
(Map 2 Page 61)

Jung-Stilling, a pietistic German author, in his novel *Das Heimweh* (Yearning for Home) depicted Eugenius, a devout Christian, seeking a refuge in central Asia. This novel inspired some Mennonites to seek a similar refuge by moving eastward to meet at the place where Christ's second coming was expected to take place. The imagination of a young farmer, Claas Epp Jr. of Hahnsau, Am Trakt Colony, was caught up to the extent that he wrote a book in 1878, interpreting the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation along the same lines. Christ was to come in 1889, and his followers needed to meet him in central Asia. Coupled with these chiliastic ideas was the desire to escape the new draft laws of the Russian government, at that time not enforced in the more remote territories.

Eventually plans were completed to migrate to Turkestan. The first contingent of ten families, consisting of 20 adults, 29 children, with 17 specially equipped wagons and 40 horses left Hahnsau in July of 1880, accompanied by Epp for the first few days. The second wagon train also left from Am Trakt; a third from the Molotschna under the leadership of Elder Abraham Peters also included people from the Kuban. The fourth and fifth trains, again from AmTrakt, concluded the migration of the 600 people. The last train, including the leader Claas Epp, began its trek September 1, 1881.

Across mountain passes with snow and deserts with searing heat, braving broken axles and wheels, suffering disease and death, the pilgrims travelled on. Eventually the first groups reached the Tashkent area in Turkestan, where they halted for the winter, taking time to organize. Partly because of increasing difficulty with accepting Epp's radical views, about 100 families under the leadership of Abraham Peters (and when he died Jacob Janzen became the leader) decided to accept government terms and settle in Turkestan. They were granted land near Aulie Ata, along the Talus River, moving there in April, 1882. They established four villages, Gnadenfeld, Gnadental, Nikolaipol and Koeppental. Prior to World War I there were five villages, about 1,000 people, of which approximately half were Mennonite Brethren.

The last of the wagon trains, including Claas Epp himself, arrived in Turkestan after a difficult four month trip. Epp took charge of the remaining 60 families, and in August, 1882, continued on the quest for Christ's arrival site. Not wishing to accept any type of alternate service demanded if they remained in Russian territory, yet being refused entry by the emir of Bukhara, the caravan of 50 wagons was driven back and forth by circumstances, braving wide bleak deserts and considerable danger from roving nomads. Eventually the Khan of Khiva invited the struggling group to settle near the Amudar'ya River. Unfortunately the region was a disease-infested swamp, with surrounding natives who freely raided the settlement. In time the khan offered a safer refuge in Ak Metchet, a garden near the city of Khiva.

The group, still under the leadership of an ever more radical and demanding Epp, slowly dwindled in number. Some dissenters moved to Aulie Ata, others emigrated to America. As 1889 approached Claas Epp was also able to announce the exact date of Christ's appearance—March 8. When the expected arrival did not materialize, Epp concluded that the clock he had seen had been tilted, that the accurate date was really 1891! Epp continued to preach to his dwindling flock, and eventually died in Ak Metchet, at the age of 75, on January 19, 1913.

EASTERN EUROPE 1917 - 1918

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Russia entered World War I with high hopes, as patron and protector of the Slavic states in eastern Europe. In August, 1914, two Russian armies advanced into East Prussia. Unfortunately one army was defeated in the Battle of Tannenberg, the other fell back in disarray. On the southern part of the front Russia had more success. September 1 to October 3, 1914, Russia defeated the Austrians in the Battles of Lemberg. The tide turned several times, but in time the Russian Brusilov Offensive, launched June 4, 1916, was turned into a retreat.

Morale in Russia was sagging, with food shortages and eventually strikes. In February, 1917, there were food riots in Petrograd. By March a provisional government of liberal politicians was set up after the Tsar had been forced to abdicate. In July Kerensky became Prime Minister of the provisional government.

On the war front there was a brief Russian advance in July, but a German counter-offensive pushed back and by September 1, 1917, captured Riga. Revolution broke out in Petrograd, culminating in the capture of the Winter Palace by the Bolsheviks on November 7. Lenin, the newly self-imposed Bolshevik Chairman, immediately began negotiating for peace. Talks with peace at all costs in mind began with Germany at Brest Litovsk.

The Ukranian Central Council, in the meantime, announced complete independence of Ukraine on January 9, 1918, and began negotiating directly with the Central Powers.

Desperate to prevent further advance of German forces into Russia, the Bolsheviks signed a peace treaty with Germany on March 3, 1918, in which Russia lost the Baltic States, Poland and Ukraine. An agreement was also struck between the Central Powers and the Ukranian Central Council in which Germany pledged to support Ukranian independence. It was concluded that

the best way to accomplish this was to send German troops to occupy the area. In return the Council promised to send the Central Powers at least one million tons of supplies. On March 1, 1918, German troops advanced into Ukraine and restored Kiev to the control of the Council. After the peace was signed this occupation included the whole Ukraine. The region of occupation included many of the Mennonite colonies of southern Russia.

After the Bolshevik revolution of November, 1917, a system of local Soviets had been established in many parts of the country. Red Army troops appeared in Halbstadt on February 5, 1918, consolidating the control of the Soviets of the region. Many Molotschna villages suffered from the subsequent "Halbstadt Days of Terror." It was with relief that the Molotschna Mennonites greeted the German troops on April 19, 1918. With the German occupation, law and order was restored, and many conditions returned to near normal. Mennonite officials were re-installed, and villages reverted back to their former German names. Excesses of the previous anarchy also brought on a counter-reaction of revenge in some instances. To prevent recurrence of the pillage just recently experienced, many Mennonite villages began to organize a *Selbstschutz* (defensive army). German officers encouraged and helped in the formation of these units.

The war on the Western Front was not going well for Germany, so troops were gradually withdrawn from Ukraine. With the final signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, the Treaty of Brest Litovsk was annulled. When all German troops were withdrawn from the Ukraine sometime in November, 1918, the Mennonite colonies in the area were left to fend for themselves.

MAKHNO SPHERE OF ACTIVITY
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Nestor Ivanovich Makhno was born October 27, 1889 in Gulyaipole, a Ukrainian village about 65 kilometres north east of the Molotschna Colony. Despite being from a poor peasant family he completed his public school, then in his youth worked as a shepherd and drove oxcarts for German landowners. He also worked in a foundry, and at one time in a small Kroeger plant.

In 1906 Makhno joined a group of Ukrainian anarchists, was arrested in 1908, and eventually served time in the Butyrki Prison in Moscow. He was released with the general amnesty of March, 1917, and returned home to Gulyaipole. When German troops occupied the region in early 1918 he temporarily left for Moscow, then returned in July to organize small bands of anarchists which employed hit and run tactics against local *khutors* (estates).

Withdrawal of German troops in November, 1918, resulted in anarchy for the region, and soon an all-out civil war in which White Army units under Denikin, Red troops, a Ukrainian National Army and various local partisans ranged back and forth. Makhno, using his home in Gulyaipole as base, organized a band of anarchists, an irregular army of 5,000-8,000 men, of which 1,500 were cavalry. His ten regiments ravaged the countryside, their basic philosophy being destruction, with particular emphasis on kulak peasants and the urban middle class. Alliances with various partisans and Red Army units were only made to be broken.

Unfortunately, major Mennonite colonies were caught in the middle of this confusing struggle. Some attempts at defence were made by the Mennonites with the formation of *Selbstschutz* units, but in the long run this may have only aggravated the situation. For the Makhnovshchina plunder, burning and rape were standard treatment; killing followed at the slightest provocation. Many Mennonite villages were occupied, a few were virtually destroyed, many people losing their lives. Prinicpal time of uncontrolled terror by the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine (commonly called Makhnovtse by the Mennonites) was from October to December, 1919.

In Yazykovo Colony, Eichenfeld was attacked October 26, 1919, and 82 people left dead.Hochfeld had 19, Nikolaifeld 13, Franzfeld 11 and Petersdorf seven dead. In the Molotschna, Blumenort had 20 people killed November 11, 1919, with 11 in Altonau and six in Ohrloff. Sagradovka came under concentrated attack November 12 - December 1, 1919. A total of 199 Mennonites lost their lives here. Muensterberg had 98 deaths, Orloff 45, Tiege 17, Reinfeld 16, Gnadenfeld 12 and Schoenau 11. The Chortitza Colony had 97 people murdered by the Makhnovtse in 1919, 21 in Nieder-Chortitza, 14 in Kronsweide and 13 each in Neuendorf and Chortitza. The colony also felt the aftermath of invasion—disease, which invariably follows armies. In Osterwick 160 people died of typhus, in Einlage 100 and in Kronsthal 66. Over 100 women and girls had to be treated for syphilis.

In December, 1919 the Red Army gained control of the area; in time the Communists felt that partisans were no longer needed, even posing a threat. As a result, Makhno felt it wiser to escape across the Dniester River to Romania on August 28, 1921. Then he went to Danzig, Berlin and finally Paris. There he died July 25, 1934, likely from excessive drink and tuberculosis. A motley crowd of several hundred anarchists, emigrants and sympathizers accompanied his coffin to the Pére-Lachaise Cemetery. His body was burned at the crematorium, and the urn holding the ashes marked by a name plate.

LOWER DNIEPR
JUNE 10, 1920
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MOLOTSCHNA COLONY
JUNE 20, 1920
(Page 65)

After withdrawal of German troops in late 1918, civil war raged in Ukraine.

In the spring of 1920 the White Army, under the command of General Wrangel, began a new offensive which started in the Crimea, and reached the Molotschna by early June. For weeks the battle lines seesawed back and forth in this area, villages repeatedly changing hands. Wrangel, in his memoirs, described some of the battles.

On June 10, 1920 there was a slight lull in the fighting, the Whites consolidating their positions, the Red Army reorganizing and bringing in new recruits. At that point the White Army, holding a line from the Sea of Azov to Waldheim in the Molotschna, consisted of the Second Don Division, then the Don Cossack Division under General Abramov. From Waldheim through Tokmak to Station Popovo on the Dniepr River were the 13th and 34th Infantry Divisions of the Second Army Corps under General Slashchev. Other troops, including the Kuban Cossack and the Kornilov Divisons, held the line along the left bank of the Dniepr back along its course to the delta on the Black Sea. Facing these forces were the various cavalry and infantry divisions of the 13th Red Army.

In a few days serious fighting resumed. On June 17 the White Army in the Waldheim sector pulled back under pressure by the Red cavalry under General Zhloba, moving in a south west direction. Zhloba apparently preferred to move his troops at night because of the losses inflicted by White aircraft during the daylight hours. The White pull-back, likely a planned ruse to obtain a more strategic position, continued until June 19. By then the main forces of the Red cavalry occupied the south central portion of the Molotschna, including Friedensdorf, Margenau, Tiegerweide, Kleefeld and Alexanderkrone. Total forces of the 13th Red Army in the region were 25,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. Facing them in a semi-circle were various elements of the White Army totalling

15,000 infantry and 6,500 cavalry.

At 6:00 p.m. on June 19 General Wrangel sent directives to his generals ordering an offensive to begin against the enemy before dawn on June 20, in the direction of Gnadenfeld. At 5:00 a.m. the Second Don Division began the attack, joined by the others by the time the light of dawn broke the horizon. Pressed on all sides, pounded by artillery, strafed by machine guns of White aircraft, the Red Army started to panic. A large portion, at least two divisions under the command of Zhloba, broke through the lines in the direction of Halbstadt and Tokmak. Here they were met by the 13th Infantry Division and the armoured trains, so Zhloba again turned south, where his fleeing cavalry encountered the Drosdovze Division. Finally a full scale retreat of all Red units began in the direction of Chernigovka, with the White cavalry in hot pursuit. Around Hierschau they caught up with the Red rearguard and a battle resulted. After further losses the Red Army retreat continued. Many Red cavalrymen abandoned their exhausted horses and fled on foot, hiding where they could. In all the Whites captured 40 cannons, 200 machine guns, almost 3,000 horses, and took about 2,000 prisoners.

Meanwhile General Wrangel and his staff, with headquarters in Melitopol', anxiously awaited news from the battlefield. The rumble of the unending artillery fire could easily be heard, yet there was no direct communication with the various units on the field. Finally a new sound appeared, the approaching drone of a propeller. An aircraft skimmed low over the railroad, dropping a note which said, "The enemy has been struck on the head, encircled by our warriors. General Tkachev reports a complete destruction of the enemy."

The following day, on June 21, a church service was held in Melitopol', thanking God for the victory.

AMUR COLONIES
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FLIGHT ACROSS THE AMUR
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Prior to World War I most Mennonites who resettled chose to remain in European Russia. Those going beyond these confines settled mainly in western Siberia. After the revolution, when it became obvious that collectivization or exile were in store, many Mennonites migrated to Canada. Some of those who could not leave accepted the Soviet offer to settle in the distant, largely uninhabited land along the Amur River, hoping to avoid the harsh reality of Communist rule. The first settlers left Slavgorod on March 24, 1927, 42 families taking household goods, farm implements and animals on the long trek eastward by train. They, and those who soon followed, established the Usman settlement near the city of Blagoveshchensk. Other colonies established in the area were Savitaya, Muchino, Nevzorovka and Shumanovka, total population of over 2,300. Most settlers came from western Siberia, but some also arrived from European Russia.

The settlements had barely established themselves when collectivization was forced upon even this distant outpost. When permission to leave the country was not granted, the Mennonites looked across the wide Amur River as a possible escape route. One daring adventure was carefully planned by Jacob Siemens. The whole population of the village of Shumanovka, together with some other individuals, 217 in all, crossed the frozen river on 60 sleds. They left at night on December 16, 1930, and with the help of Chinese guides reached a larger town in China on their sleds. They then travelled the 580 kilometres to Qiqihar by bus, and eventually reached Harbin by train on February 12, 1931. Others escaped to Harbin in a similar manner, so that soon hundreds of refugees were being put up in that city. In time, to a fair extent through the efforts of the Mennonite Central Committee, but even using the intervention of the League of Nations, they were accepted into the United States, Brazil and Paraguay. The last refugees did not leave until 1934.

The fate of those who remained in the Amur settlements is not known.

THE GREAT TREK OF HIERSCHAU REFUGEES 1943-1945
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German forces invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, rapidly sweeping over large areas, especially in the south. Included in this region were some of the Mennonite colonies, for example Chortitza and Molotschna. Those Mennonites not evacuated by the Soviets prior to the German occupation lived, for a time, in relative tranquility. With capitulation of the German sixth Army at Stalingrad, however, the Soviet forces slowly but surely pushed the invading armies back. Most ethnic Germans and Mennonites fled westward with the retreating armies. At least 350,000 of these refugees eventually joined the trek, of which 35,000 were Mennonites. Among the Mennonites was a large contingent from the Molotschna, including at least 110 from the village of Hierschau. Specific locations where people stayed along the trek varied, but most were roughly in the regions shown on the Hierschau Great Trek map.

On September 9 and 10, 1943, the mayors of all the Molotschna villages received word to obtain wagons for every family. Covers were added to give protection against rain and snow. Chicken and pork were fried, flour, oil and syrup were packed to provide food along the way. On September 11 and 12 the full-scale retreat began, the Great Trek. Thousands of wagons, organized into village groups, started to stream westward. Despite broken wheels, runaway horses and cows, tipping or even going on the wrong road, Kakhovka on the Dniepr River was reached in seven days. Day and night the wagons crossed the wide river using two pontoon bridges under supervision of German soldiers. After a day of rest at Berislav another six hard days of travel brought them to the Sagradovka region. Here the weary travellers settled in various villages of the area, the Hierschau people staying in Rakhmanovka. They stayed a month, helping with the plowing and sowing of winter wheat.

On October 25, with the Red Army across the Dniepr River, the Trek began again. Conditions were terrible, with rain, snow, rutted muddy roads and great difficulty obtaining fodder for horses and cattle. Women and children were put on trains at Vinnitsa, while the men continued at a slower pace with the wagons. Finally in December the various groups dragged themselves to their destination, Podolia, on the Russian-Polish border. But the relentless Soviet advance made this a brief respite, and by late February the front was again approaching. With few wagons left by this time, most refugees were put onto trains, the last few just escaping capture by the Soviets. By the middle of March, 1944, the refugees reached the Warthegau area just west of Warsaw, again being distributed to the villages and farms of the area. All were first deloused at a camp in Litzmannstadt (Lódź).

In September, 1944, there was total mobilization in Germany. Almost all men between the ages of 16 and 65 were drafted, including Mennonite refugees. Many draftees later fought in the Battle of the Bulge on the Western Front, some being killed in action.

On January 17 and 18, 1945, with Soviet armoured columns smashing their way through the German defences, the refugees again received orders to evacuate. It was impossible to organize an orderly retreat. Trains were irregular, roads were clogged, it

was cold and the people had poor clothing. Enemy aircraft bombed and strafed the long columns of refugees. The Trek led to Lower Saxony where the refugees were quartered in various camps, the Hierschau people, for example, stayed at Soltau near Hermannsburg.

Many refugees had been overrun by Soviet forces earlier in the Trek and were collected into camps in Poland. Those who made it to Germany but not over the Elbe River (and were therefore in Soviet occupied territory) were also collected into camps. The Soviets, after conclusion of the hostilities, and with cooperation of the Allies, started rounding up displaced persons in the western zones of Germany. These people were also returned "home", often against their own will. In all at least 23,000 of the 35,000 Mennonites who started on the Great Trek were sent back to the Soviet Union, mostly to the far north or to Siberia. Those fortunate enough to remain in the Allied Zones lived in refugee camps for a number of years, then most emigrated to Canada and South America.

CANADA AND UNITED STATES

MENNONITE MIGRATION TO CANADA AND UNITED STATES
(Introduction to pages 69-78)

Goaded into action, at least in part because of the defeats suffered during the Crimean War, the Russian government planned to reform the military establishment. Changes were made in the education and training of recruits, as well as in the criteria for exclusion from conscription. In 1870 Tsar Alexander II approved a plan to investigate universal conscription. This received the immediate attention of the Mennonites, and a series of representatives was sent to St. Petersburg to present strenuous objections to the scheme.

At the same time there was increasing pressure in Russia to remove or modify other privileges of all foreign colonists, including the Mennonites. The schools increasingly came under the jurisdiction of government authorities, largely to increase the use of the Russian language in these institutions. In 1871, with new administrative changes throughout Russia, it was made known that all correspondence and records in volost offices were to be in Russian.

Many Mennonites were feeling increasingly uncomfortable with what they thought to be direct violation of terms under which they had initially settled in Russia. They considered both conscription, even with alternate service, and Russification to be factors which would directly impact on their faith, and therefore intolerable. There were some who felt that compromises could be worked out that would preserve the essentials of Mennonite faith and culture. Those who found any concessions to be an impingement on their rights began to search for another home.

Cornelius Jansen, a Mennonite merchant living in Berdyansk, as well as others, began to investigate the possibility of leaving Russia, with the United States and Canada as possible places to migrate to. At the same time John F. Funk, an American editor of *Herold der Wahrheit* began advocating such a move.

Negotiations in Russia continued, but when it appeared to some that they were unlikely to be successful, specific plans for emigration were initiated. A deputation of twelve European Mennonite and Hutterite leaders was sent to "spy out" the land. They were: Jacob Buller of Alexanderwohl and Leonhard Sudermann of Berdyansk representing the Molotschna, David Klassen of Heuboden and Cornelius Toews of Gruenfeld representing the Kleine Gemeinde of Borozenko, Paul Tschetter and Lohrenz Tschetter representing the Hutterites, Tobias Unruh and Andreas Schrag representing various churches in Volhynia, Wilhelm Ewert representing a church in West Prussia, Jacob Peters of Heuboden and Heinrich Wiebe of Schoenfeld representing the Bergthaler, while Kornelius Buhr, also a Bergthaler, went along at his own expense. Contact men in North America were Jacob Y. Shantz of Berlin (later Kitchener), Ontario and John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana.

These representatives came to North America in a number of groups, the Bergthal delegation landing in Montreal in February 1873, the rest arriving at New York in April. Groups of these delegates visited various parts of the United States, including Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado and Texas. They had all agreed to meet in Moorhead to inspect the northern states and Manitoba as one group. Canadian representation was provided by Jacob Shantz and William Hespeler, a personal representative of the Canadian Government.

On June 14, 1873 the twelve delegates left Moorhead, headed for Winnipeg, on the riverboat "International". On Sunday, June 15, Mr. Hespeler asked the crew to stop the engines and invited all on board to participate in a church service. John Funk in English, Leonhard Sudermann and Wilhelm Ewert in German preached sermons, and Leonhard Sudermann and John Funk sang *"Was kann es Schoen'res geben"*. Wilhelm Ewert closed the rather long service with prayer.

WINNIPEG IN 1873
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On Tuesday, June 17, at 5:00 a.m. the "International" docked in Winnipeg near the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine rivers. The delegates were lodged at the Davis Hotel, then Hespeler took them to Government House, at that time part of the Upper Fort Garry complex, and introduced them to Lieutenant Governor Morris and Premier H. J. Clark. Several of the delegates then went on short tours around Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, in 1873 a town of about 1,600 people.

MENNONITE DELEGATE TOUR OF EAST RESERVE JUNE 18-21, 1873
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On Wednesday, June 18, a caravan of seven wagons carrying 24 people (including all the Mennonite delegates) and supplies set off for the East Reserve from the Land Titles Office in Winnipeg. The delegates were photographed before they started, to the distinct displeasure of Paul Tschetter and Tobias Unruh. They set off on the journey, crossing the Red River by ferry, then travelling along the Dawson Road. They had covered ten miles by noon, but further progress was slowed by a heavy rain. The two wagons carrying the tents had lost their way, so the party stayed the night at the Hudson Bay store at Ste. Anne.

The next morning the two lost wagons finally arrived by 11:00 a.m., and the journey was resumed at 3:00 p.m. By evening the group arrived at the north east corner of the East Reserve, where they pitched five tents. The fire they built heated the tea, but also drove off the mosquitoes. In a brief service after supper the delegates sang some songs and prayed that, should their people choose to live there, they might be "partakers of Christ."

The following two days they travelled south, then westward. While eating dinner, having seen just four of the eight townships of the East Reserve, they decided to return. Possibly using the Chippewa and Ojibway Indian trail, they arrived in Winnipeg late at night on June 21.

Lohrenz and Paul Tschetter, Ewert, Schrag, Unruh and Funk got onto a boat and returned to Moorhead. Sunday, June 22, Shantz, Sudermann and Wiebe attended English church services in Winnipeg.

Note:

In Manitoba each township section is six square miles. The townships run east-west, with Number 1 (Tp. 1) at the United States border,numbers increasing progressively northwards. Ranges run north-south, with Number 1 being near the Red River, then numbering east and west from there (eg. R.5E is the fifth range east).

MENNONITE DELEGATE TOUR OF WESTERN MANITOBA JUNE 23 - JULY 2, 1873

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On Monday, June 23, the remaining seven delegates left Winnipeg to inspect 14 townships which had been reserved for the Mennonites farther west. By the evening of the 24th they had travelled 53 miles, and spent the night with an Irish farmer. On June 25 they travelled north of the main trail to see land belonging to Hespeler and Shantz, then along Willow Bend Creek and across the Whitemud River near the present Westbourne. Getting an early start the next day they went along the Whitemud River for 32 miles, eventually arriving at some "mountains" (Neepawa area?).

Sudermann and Buller had seen enough and decided to return. Eventually, with some exasperatingly slow travel along the way, they reached Winnipeg on July 1 at 11:00 p.m. By 12 midnight they were on a boat heading south.

The remaining Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde delegates also cut short their visit before they reached the reserved townships, and headed back for Winnipeg. Near House's Hotel at White Horse Plains the driver of their party got into a quarrel with a Metis, who promptly gathered a number of his friends. The whole group of travellers was cornered in House's Hotel where Hespeler, revolver in one hand and knife in the other, guarded the five delegates until a troop of thirty soldiers rescued them the next morning. The party arrived back in Winnipeg on July 2, and likely departed on July 8, 1873.

The Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde representatives chose Manitoba as their preferred site of settlement because they felt more secure having their religious freedom guaranteed by a monarchy rather than a republic. The promise of complete military exemption, the exclusive blocks of land and the fact that it was free were also strong factors. Stopping in Ottawa, then departing from New York, they travelled back to Europe, arriving at their home colonies in August.

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA DURING THE 1870s

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When the twelve delegates who had visited North America returned to Russia in the autumn of 1873, they reported that land was abundant and the terms generally liberal. Emigration fever ran high, but several obstacles still needed to be faced before the people could leave. Land and property had to be sold, often at a considerable loss, and it was difficult to obtain the necessary exit documents. The Russian government even sent a special envoy, General von Todtleben to persuade the Mennonites to remain. A total of about one-third of the Russian Mennonite population eventually emigrated in the 1870s. Travel plans were complicated by the policy of the Russian imperial government which did not allow the shipping companies to pick up the travellers from Russian ports.

A number of smaller groups from the Crimea, Volhynia, Prussia and Russian Poland began the emigration as early as June, 1873. The first major Kleine Gemeinde contingent left Borozenko on May 30, 1874, and the Bergthaler began their trek on June 15, 1874.

The Kleine Gemeinde emigrants, and most of those from the Molotschna, Chortitza and other south Russian colonies travelled down the Dniepr by boat, to the Black Sea, across to Odessa, then overland by train to Hamburg. The Bergthaler headed north by train from the Nikolayevska Station, through Khar'kov, Smolensk and Koenigsberg also to Hamburg. Five shipping lines transported the immigrants by different routes, depending on their destination. Those going to Canada were taken via Hull and Liverpool, eventually landing in Quebec. Those going to the United States generally were taken either directly to New York, or via Antwerp to Philadelphia. Some also landed in Galveston, Texas.

Groups from the Crimea, Volhynia, Prussia, Poland, Molotschna, Alexanderwohl, as well as one group of Kleine Gemeinde from Borozenko and the Hutterites, emigrated to the United States between 1873 and 1879. Altogether about 10,000 Mennonites settled in Kansas, Nebraska, Illinois, Minnesota and the Dakotas. Most of the Kleine Gemeinde, mainly from the Borozenko Colony, all of Bergthal, also Fuerstenland and a number from the Chortitza settled in Manitoba during the same period, totalling 6,931 people.

MIGRATION TO MANITOBA 1874-1876

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One of the first Kleine Gemeinde groups to head for Canada left home on June 3, 1874, then via Odessa, Breslau, Berlin, Hamburg and Hull reached Liverpool. Here they boarded the ship "Austria" which reached St. John's, Newfoundland in five days. After a stop in Halifax the ship reached Quebec City on June 17. Most passengers were alive and well. Two children under a year of age had died between Halifax and Quebec, and were buried at sea. After disembarking, the luggage was transfered to a train, tickets were purchased and the travellers ate a fine meal provided by the Canadian government. The group travelled to Montreal, Toronto and Collingwood, where the rail line ended. Passengers and baggage were transfered to a lake vessel, and one hour later they headed for Duluth. A day after arrival at that port they again boarded a train, reaching Moorhead the following day. From Moorhead they headed north up the Red River on the steamship "International". Three days later, after a total of about seven weeks of travel, they arrived in Winnipeg safe and sound. Here they were greeted by William Hespeler and went shopping for supplies. The next day, August 1, they returned to the ship and were taken to a point near the junctions of the Red and Rat Rivers, where they disembarked.

The initial Bergthal group left their colony on June 15, 1874, travelling via Khar'kov, Koenigsberg, Berlin, Hamburg and Hull to Liverpool. Here they boarded a ship on July 2, being honoured by cannon shots as they passed six British warships. Gliding through fields of icebergs they entered St. John's harbor eight days later. After calling in Halifax the ship headed for Quebec City. There the Bergthaler boarded trains and travelled through Montreal to Toronto where they were greeted by a group of Canadian Mennonites, including Jacob Shantz. A further six hour train ride brought them to Collingwood where they boarded a ship, then proceeded to Duluth, and from Duluth to Moorhead by train.

From Moorhead some people rode on the baggage barges, others travelled by river steamer. Still others who wanted to shop for supplies, including wagons, oxen and cattle, elected to stay for a few days, then follow overland. On August 3 (August 15 on the Gregorian calendar), a rainy and windy day, the weary settlers arrived at the confluence of the Rat and Red Rivers. Here they spent the first night in tents or any makeshift shelters they could find. The next day the women, children and luggage were loaded

onto oxcarts, and the men walked the five miles to the immigration sheds. Those who had remained in Moorhead travelled by oxen and wagon along the west bank of the Red River, finally arriving in 12 days. Oxen and cows swam across the river to the east bank. Wagons were taken apart and used to construct rafts to transport people and luggage. On the east side the wagons were re-assembled and the journey to the immigration sheds completed. The trip had taken about seven weeks, during which time they were on eleven different trains, on five ships and travelled two stretches on wagons.

With minor variations the stories of these two groups reflect the usual way in which the Mennonite settlers travelled the 15,000 kilometres from their well established homes in Russia to the flat untamed prairies of Manitoba.

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN MANITOBA (1874-1878)

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The first block of land settled by Mennonites in Manitoba was the East Reserve, an area consisting of eight townships beginning 30 miles south east of Winnipeg and five miles east of the Red River. Landing at the junction of the Rat and Red Rivers, the first Kleine Gemeinde and Bergthaler settlers arrived in August of 1874. From the temporary Shantz sheds built on the western border of the reserve they laid out their villages, then began their farm establishments. Eventually a total of 59 villages existed on the East Reserve, although never all at one time.

Realizing from the start that the land of the East Reserve was not particularly fertile, a group of 32 Kleine Gemeinde families obtained permission to settle along the Scratching River instead. Here they founded the villages of Rosenhoff and Rosenort.

As early as 1874 permission was given for settlement west of the Red River, just north of the international border. Even that year some pioneers established their homes in the region, although it was not officially created as the West Reserve until 1876 by an Order-in-Council. By 1878 many settlers had decided that the East Reserve could not sustain the number of people living there, so more than 200 Bergthal families moved to the eastern half of the West Reserve. In all a total of 70 villages were founded, a substantial number of which still remain.

EAST RESERVE

(Page73)

The delegates which the Mennonites had sent to investigate land in Manitoba chose a block of eight townships (each township contained 36 sections of 640 acres each) which began 30 miles south east of Winnipeg, five miles east of the Red River. The first Kleine Gemeinde immigrants reached the landing area on the Red River on August 1, then moved to the Shantz sheds. The first Bergthaler group arrived at the sheds a number of days later.

Despite the warning by Jacob Shantz that the land was not of uniform quality, therefore not suitable for the typical Mennonite system of land holdings, they still proceeded with this method of settlement. After all, Manitoba had been chosen precisely because it was permitted to have large blocks of "reserve" land upon which the traditional villages could be built.

Development was not carefully planned, with a resulting haphazard distribution of villages, not nearly always advantageously placed. Relatives or groups of friends would scout an area and decide to found a village at any spot which to them seemed suitable at the time. Villages were usually laid out so that farm buildings were about 200 feet apart, about 100 feet from the street. Most often there were homesteads on both sides of the street, with lots reserved for schools and churches. A quarter section at the end of the village served as "common" pasture.

Usually the women and children stayed in Schanzenberg while the men and boys went out to look for land, then to select village sites and begin construction of the first crude homes. These first dwellings were either the *simlin*, a sod hut dug about two feet into the ground, or the *sarai*, an A-frame thatched structure. After the initial work had been done the whole family moved in. Land in this region was cleared mostly by hand, with the use of the axe. Plowing was done with oxen. In 1874 only a small amount of land was ploughed. The next spring the land was worked in small sections with wooden toothed harrows and the seeds spread by hand. In the second year over 5,000 acres were planted to wheat, oats, barley, rye, flax and potatoes.

In all there have been 59 villages in the East Reserve, some quite small and incomplete. A number were abandoned very soon after they were founded, the pioneers most often moving to the West Reserve. Even with the existing difficulties some industry began to develop. A small steam mill was built in 1876, and a large windmill was constructed in Steinbach in 1877. A highlight for all was the visit of Lord Dufferin, Governor General of Canada, in August of 1877.

The pioneering time was difficult at best, but a number of other problems added to the frustrations. The heavy cover of bush and trees as well as the inferior soil were cause for serious discontent almost from the start. In addition some areas were quite marshy, while other regions had a great deal of gravel and stones. A group of 32 Kleine Gemeinde families who had sufficient resources immediately left the East Reserve. They settled on the west side of the Red River, on the banks of the Scratching River (now Morris River) to form the villages of Rosenhoff and Rosenort.

Despite valiant efforts it became obvious by 1878 that the East Reserve could not sustain the number of people that had settled on it. Since the eastern half of the West Reserve was still unoccupied, more than 200 families of the Bergthal contingent, almost half of their number, moved family and possessions across the Red River. They established a number of villages south and east of the present Plum Coulee.

The map showing 37 villages in the East Reserve depicts the situation around 1880. Currently very few of the early villages remain. Steinbach, a flourishing automobile sales centre and home of the Mennonite Village Museum, Kleefeld (formerly Gruenfeld), Blumenort, Gruenthal and Niverville still exist and have largely Mennonite populations.

WEST RESERVE

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Permission for block settlement on a fertile area of Manitoba west of the Red River along the international border was given in 1874. Some of the Mennonite settlers who felt that the East Reserve was not prime agricultural area moved to the Scratching River, others went even farther south to this flat, treeless, but fertile plain. In 1876 the West Reserve was officially created by an Order-in-Council.

Many of the later migrants moved directly to the West Reserve, and many from the East Reserve transferred, especially by 1878, when it was confirmed that their first assigned land was not very productive. In all about 70 villages were founded, although not all remained as the years progressed. The western half of the West Reserve was settled largely by Fuerstenlaender or Old Colony Mennonites (official name Reinlaender Mennonite Church), the part east of Plum Coulee was settled by Bergthaler, moving over from the East Reserve.

The original reserve consisted of Township 1, Range 1 East to Range 6 West, and Township 2, Range 1 West to Range 5 West, a total of twelve 36 square mile townships. In 1883 the CPR built a railroad into the area, and about ten years after the

founding of the settlement another five townships were added—Township 3, Range 1 West to Range 5 West.

Today the region is a flourishing agricultural area, but also has many industries in towns such as Winkler, Morden and Altona. A substantial number of the original villages still remain, a few farm establishments still having the traditional house-barn configuration.

SASKATCHEWAN MENNONITE RESERVES
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ROSTHERN RESERVE (HAGUE-OSLER)
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SWIFT CURRENT RESERVE
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At the turn of the nineteenth century Mennonites in various parts of the world again felt the pressure to move. At the same time a new opportunity for settlement appeared. With the opening up of the Northwest Territories of Canada, and with the later formation of the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905, large stretches of new land became available. Many Mennonites in Manitoba, Ontario, the United States as well as Prussia and Russia decided to again accept the challenge of pioneering new frontiers. The migration in this instance took the form of smaller groups or families moving to what they considered to be improved economic circumstances, rather than the establishment of large blocks of entirely closed settlements.

Over a period of about 20 years a large number of Mennonite settlements came to dot the western Canadian prairie. The railroad lines were helpful in this migration, the east-west trans-Canada and the north-south Regina-Prince Albert were pivotal. While settlement in these new territories was not based on a master plan, the Saskatchewan Mennonite population was predominantly of Dutch-German derivation, that in Alberta mostly Swiss-German.

The first area settled in Saskatchewan was around Rosthern, in the Saskatchewan Valley north of Saskatoon. Gerhard Ens was one of the first settlers. Having come from Russia the previous year, he settled here with a number of other families in 1892. He then became a vigorous immigration agent, and eventually was elected to the first Saskatchewan legislature in 1905. Soon a variety of Mennonites moved to the Rosthern area, many of them in time becoming members of the Rosenorter Mennonite Church. Peter Regier, who emigrated from Prussia in 1894, was the spiritual leader of this congregation.

Old Colony Mennonites from the West Reserve of Manitoba received exclusive rights of settlement on even numbered sections of four townships in the Hague- Osler area (subsequently called the Rosthern or Hague-Osler Reserve). The first trainload of pioneers arrived in May of 1895. Within three years they requested and received permission to settle another adjacent township on similar terms.

With further population expansion in Manitoba, Old Colony leaders were soon again looking for more blocks of land to settle. They convinced the Dominion government that the land south of Swift Current could be utilized, and obtained exclusive use of most of the land in six townships. On both the Rosthern and the Swift Current Reserves the Old Colony Mennonites tried to reconstruct the village life as it has been experienced in Manitoba and earlier than that in Russia. A total of 29 villages were founded.

Sommerfelder Mennonites followed the Old Colony people and settled near the reserves in Aberdeen, Rosthern and Herbert areas. The Carrot River Reserve was established east of Prince Albert by 1906.

Many other individual settlements were established across Saskatchewan, most often near one of the existing Mennonite population centres, and commonly by one particular religious group. Villages such as Dalmeny, Hepburn, Waldheim, Laird, Langham, Main Centre, Flowing Well and Herbert were founded mainly between 1884 and 1910, people coming principally from Manitoba, the United States and Russia. In 1901 there were 3,787 Mennonites in Saskatchewan, expanding to 14,586 by 1911.

MENNONITES IN ALBERTA
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With increasing population pressure among Mennonites in Manitoba, Ontario, the United States, as well as in Prussia and Russia, they looked for new open areas to explore. This concern coincided with the opening up of new territories in western Canada, the expansion of railroads into the area, finally, the formation of two new provinces in 1905—Saskatchewan and Alberta. Migration, particularly to Alberta, tended to be mainly as small family or congregational groups.

Around the turn of the century a considerable number of settlements and regions in Alberta had significant Mennonite populations. There were Old Mennonite congregations in eight locales (Acadia Valley, Carstairs, Duchess, High River, Mayton, Snake Valley, Tofield, Youngstown), Mennonite Brethren in Christ in seven (Acadia Valley, Castor, Didsbury, Galahad, May City, Stettler, Sunnyslope), General Conference Mennonites in two (Didsbury, Gleichen) and Church of God in Christ Mennonite in one (Linden).

After World War I there was an influx of Mennonites from Russia. Mennonite Brethren spread into various areas, but the principal centre was Coaldale. Rosemary had a strong General Conference Mennonite congregation, while Evangelical Mennonite Brethren (Allianz) strength was in Namaka and Linden.

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE 1870s
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EARLY MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN KANSAS
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The twelve Mennonite delegates sent by Russian and European Mennonites to investigate the possibility of settling in North America came in three groups during the summer of 1873. First they stopped to be briefed, some by Jacob Y. Shantz in Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario, others by John F. Funk in Elkhart, Indiana, and some by both. Then they went on to inspect Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado and Texas. They all met in Fargo, North Dakota, to begin inspection of the northern states and Manitoba.

After completing the inspection a number of delegates recommended settling in the United States with Kansas as the preferred site. While the U.S. Congress could guarantee only alternate sections of land as offered by the railroads, and only limited promises regarding the nonresistant status, the very active and aggressive recruiting, as well as climate and crop conditions very similar to those in the southern Ukraine, helped people to make this decision. One could even grow winter wheat and watermelons in Kansas!

A few settlers arrived in Illinois and the mid-west states in 1873, but the larger groups began arriving, mainly via New York, Philadelphia and Galveston, the following year. A group from West Prussia led by Wilhelm Ewert settled in Marion County, Kansas. A Krimmer Mennonite Brethren group under the leadership of Elder Jacob A. Wiebe established Gnadenau, also in Marion County, while the Alexanderwohl congregation settled in Marion and McPherson Counties. In all 1,275 families came to North

America in 1874, about half of which settled in Kansas.

Altogether a total of about 10,000 Mennonite immigrants came to the United States between 1873 and 1880, with 5,225 coming in 1874, 1,400 in 1875 and 1,241 in 1876. They settled in Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakota Territory, Minnesota, Illinois and Oklahoma. These included a larger part of those arriving from the Molotschna, West Prussia, the Swiss Volhynians, the Swiss Galacians and those from Poland, as well as a small group of Kleine Gemeinde.

At the same time a number of Mennonites from the more eastern states took advantage of the Homestead Act of 1862 to resettle in the midwest.

LATIN AMERICA

MENNONITES IN ARGENTINA
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REMECÓ COLONY
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Mennonite missionaries, sent by the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities of the United States, arrived in Buenos Aires in 1917. Chosen centre for the missions was Pehuajo, south west of the capital. After 30 years there were 13 main mission stations and 25 outstations, including work in Cosquin in Cordoba province, and also among the Indians in the southern Gran Chaco. A Bible school was established in Bragado in 1935 to train Spanish-speaking pastors. It stopped operations when a bilingual seminary was established in Montevideo in 1956.

In 1948 a group of Russian Mennonites, enroute to Paraguay, was temporarily stalled in Buenos Aires. About 150 elected to stay in that city, working mainly as day labourers. People from Paraguay on occasion also moved to Buenos Aires for various reasons such as educational pursuits. In time, a group of 400 gathered, but they had no central focal organization. The Mennonite Central Committee established a religious and social centre in 1949. At first it was under the direction of Bishop Nelson Litwiller of the Argentine Mennonite Mission, but in 1950 Martin Duerksen of Paraguay was appointed, staying in that position until 1965.

In March, 1986, Old Colony Mennonites from México and Belize established a colony, "La Estancia Remecó" in La Pampa province near the town of Guatrache. In 1987 there were about 100 families in 11 villages occupying 10,000 hectares of land. Crops grown include wheat, barley, oats and soya beans. Milk and cheese are also produced. On December 20, 1995, a tornado struck the colony totally annihilating 12 houses, damaging another 100. Up to 45 windmills were destroyed, as well as 30 silos, 11 barns and four metal workshops. Estimated current population of the Remecó Colony is 1,500.

Eight families left Durango Colony in México in May, 1995, travelling to their newly purchased land on the Argentinian Gran Chaco. Situated 350 kilometres north east of Resistencia near the town of Pampa de los Guanacos, only 500 of the 8,687 hectares are cleared, the rest are scrub forest.

In 1994, the Mennonite World Conference statistics showed 2,885 Mennonite church members in all of Argentina, organized into three church groups.

MENNONITE COLONIES IN BELIZE
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SHIPYARD COLONY
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By the mid-1950s land shortage in the Chihuahua colonies of México was becoming a problem. Peter H. Wiebe, an *Altkolonier* from México, in a conversation with U.S. Vice-consul C. Juarez, discovered that land might be available in British Honduras. In 1957 a number of delegations discovered that the British were willing to guarantee satisfactory conditions, and that large blocks of land were available. By the spring of 1958, sometimes with very little preparatory work, migration via truck and train was underway. Three major colonies were established that year.

Over 130,000 acres were purchased by Old Colony Mennonites, and in time over 200 families settled to found the Shipyard and Blue Creek Colonies. Shipyard settlers were from the Nordkolonie of Chihuahua. Poor land and resistance to modern technology made economic progress difficult. With increasing dissension in the colony, some moved to Bolivia, others founded a daughter colony, Little Belize (Freshwater Creek) in a more remote location in 1978. Blue Creek Colony was established on 45,000 acres in the north west corner of Belize. Here also there were serious rifts because of a ban on the use of modern equipment. In 1960 there were 565 people in five villages.

The Kleine Gemeinde Quellenkolonie (Los Jagueyes) in México had internal disagreements, so when good reports came back from British Honduras immediate interest in migration was kindled. Starting in March, 1958, a total of 66 families left Quellenkolonie to found the Spanish Lookout Colony on 17,000 acres located on the Belize River west of Belmopan. Use of modern farming methods and equipment, development of a poultry industry, knowledge of English and absence of serious religious disagreements helped the colony to develop rapidly.

The Richmond Hill Colony was established by 20 Old Colony families from the Peace River district, Alberta, together with others from México. Also established in 1958 on 2,500 acres of rented land, it later disbanded.

In 1966, a small group of Amish and Old Order Mennonites from the United States and Canada purchased 4,000 acres at Santa Elena near Cayo. By 1967, the 100 settlers cultivated 300 acres. Other settlements have been established in the Barton Creek area, largely by more conservative colonists who decry the use of refrigerators, motors and flashlights, not to mention tractors.

In 1966, the total Mennonite population in British Honduras was 3,555, colony land totalled 157,300 acres, of which about 14,800 was cultivated. In 1987, there were 4,959 Mennonites in Belize, the most populous colonies being Shipyard (Old Colony) 1,946, Spanish Lookout (Kleine Gemeinde) 1,125 and Little Belize (Old Colony) 1,004.

On September 21, 1987, British Honduras achieved independence from Britain and was renamed Belize. British troops continued to guarantee security of the land, since Guatemala, the immediate neighbour to the west, claims sovereignty over the area.

Mennonites have retained their privileges in Belize, and generally seem to be well respected, although there may be petty local jealousy because of their economic success. The Spanish Lookout Colony is used by the government to demonstrate what can be accomplished in Belize.

MENNONITE COLONIES IN BOLIVIA
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MENNONITE COLONIES NEAR SANTA CRUZ
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MENNONITE COLONIES NORTH EAST OF SANTA CRUZ
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The first Mennonites to emigrate to Bolivia came from Paraguay, settling in the area around Santa Cruz. Tres Palmas Colony was founded in 1954 (dissolved in 1985), Canadiense (Canadencia, now also Canadiense No. 1) in 1956. Bergthal (later called Alt Bergthal) was begun by

Bergthaler from Paraguay and Canada in 1963, while Reinland (Las Pavas) was established by Chortitzer from Paraguay and Reinlaender from Canada in the same year.

By the mid-1960s Mennonites in México, particularly in the Chihuahua Old Colony colonies, found land to be scarce. Bolivia was willing to accept the terms deemed necessary by this conservative group. In addition the Santa Cruz area, at 4,000 feet (1,230 m.) elevation, offered a subtropical climate with reliable rainfall which allowed satisfactory agricultural development. Anticipated difficulties would be the limited markets for produce in eastern Bolivia, with high cost of any transportation into or out of the area. Satisfied with the conditions, about 2,000 pioneers arrived in Bolivia to establish a series of colonies in 1967, Swift Current, Riva Palacios and Santa Rita. Old Colony migrants from the Peace River district in Canada founded Las Piedras (later, Las Piedras No. 1) in 1968. Sommerfelder from México established Sommerfeld (1968), while Morgenland (also called Canadiense No. 2), an outgrowth from Canadiense No. 1, was founded in 1975. Nueva Holanda (1983) was a split from the Reinland Colony.

New colonies have been founded since that time by additional emigration from México, Belize, Paraguay and Canada, as well as by expansion of existing Bolivian settlements. Pinondi (also called Charagua) and Durango have recently been established about 200 kilometres south of Santa Cruz. At the same time a number of colonies have been virtually abandoned, few Mennonites now living in the area (Tres Palmas, Reinland, Alt Bergthal). In 1995 there were 25 Mennonite colonies in Bolivia with a total population of 28,567. Riva Palacios had 5,488, Swift Current had 2,602, Nueva Esperanza had 2,455, Valle Esperanza had 2,214, while Santa Rita had 1,748 inhabitants.

Mennonites in Boliva are still able to purchase land in big blocks; for example Santa Clara Colony started with 7,000 hectares, and Durango with 8,000. Typical villages are established, with cultivation of the land the principal activity. Soybeans and wheat are the main crops, although cotton, sunflowers and corn are also grown. Some cattled are raised, enough to provide milk for cheese factories found in most colonies. Metal lathe workshops are a common industry, producing augers, hammer feedmills, windmills and almost anything made of metal.

Most colonies are very conservative with use of electricity (for anything except motors) and rubber tires are frowned upon. Many refuse to own trucks or automobiles, so they actually help local Bolivian truckers and taxis by providing a steady stream of business. There are few substantial stores in the colonies, most shopping being done in Santa Cruz.

Colonies are single denomination, one congregation areas, although there may be a number of church buildings. There are *Vorsteher* who look after civil type work (e.g. roads), but the ultimate authority in almost all aspects of life rests with the religious hierarchy. One *Aeltester* and a number of elected (for life) ministers head this group, although deacons and *Waisenamt* officials also have limited functions.

MENNONITE SETTLEMENTS IN BRAZIL AND URUGUAY
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BRAZIL

By November, 1929 about 13,000 Mennonites had collected in the suburbs of Moscow hoping to obtain exit visas to allow emigration to Canada. Canada refused to accept additional immigrants, but eventually Germany, by a special act of the Reichstag, consented to take a number on a temporary basis. A total of 5,671 refugees were put up in three camps, Moelln, Prenzlau and Hammerstein. Of these refugees 3,885 were Mennonites. With the aid of the German government as well as the Dutch Mennonites about 1,200 prepared to migrate to Brazil. This country did not guarantee non-resistant status, so the Mennonites who chose Brazil tended to be those who considered this principle to be of marginal importance. The ship "Monte Olivia" sailed from Hamburg on January 16, 1930 with the first group of 33 families. They settled on land owned by the Hanseatic Colonization Company in the valley of the upper Krauel River, 160 kilometres west of the German city of Blumenau. In time a total of 150 families lived in what was known as Witmarsum, individual villages being Witmarsum, Waldheim and Gnadental. Later groups found the Krauel River valley occupied, so about 90 families moved to the elevated Stoltz Plateau to found the Auhagen settlement. In June of 1934 an additional 34 families arrived in Brazil from Harbin in China, having left the U.S.S.R. by crossing the Amur River.

Early times were very difficult. The jungle needed to be cleared with axe and saw, first to build log huts, then to have land to plant crops. Eventually the mainstays of agriculture, especially in Witmarsum, were corn, aipim (manioc, which was processed to produce starch), milk, pork and wood from the forests. The problems on the Stoltz Plateau were magnified because of the increased distance from markets and the fact that not everything which flourished in the lower valleys would grow on the elevated plateau.

In 1934 migration within Brazil began. By 1951 all Mennonite families had left the Stoltz Plateau, most moving to Curitiba, capital of Paraná. Here they lived in the outskirts, at first heavily involved in milk production, but also moving into other industries such as sawmills and plywood factories.

In 1949 there were 120 families in Witmarsum, 258 families in and around Curitiba, with another 44 families spread from São Paulo to Blumenau. In total there were about 2,300 Mennonites in Brazil.

The Witmarsum settlement broke up in 1949-52 because of continuing economic difficulties. About 70 families settled in southern Rio Grande de Sul state near Bage. Most of the remaining families founded a new settlement called Neu Witmarsum north west of Curitiba.

Curitiba became the centre of the German-speaking Mennonite churches in Brazil, with several large Mennonite congregations in the city. In 1972 the Mennonite World Conference was held in Curitiba. In 1978 there were 4,100 Mennonites in Brazil. By 1994 the Mennonite church membership had grown to 5,974, distributed in five organized bodies. This number also included Brazilian nationals.

URUGUAY

With the retreat of the German armies towards the end of World War II many West Prussian and Polish Mennonites tried to escape to the west before the advancing Soviet armies could reach them. Some of these refugees established homes in West Germany, others migrated to Canada and South America. Final arrangements for settlement in Uruguay were completed when the first shipload was already underway. The initial group of 750 (690 from Danzig area, 60 from central Poland) reached Uruguay on October 27, 1948. They were temporarily housed near Paysandu along the Argentinian border.

The first permanent settlement was begun in April, 1950 on a 1,172 hectare ranch known as El Ombu located 290 kilometres north west of Montevideo. The land available was restricted, with room for only half of the group, so the others continued to work in various parts of Uruguay.

In October of 1951 a second group of 431 West Prussian refugees landed at Montevideo, bringing the total Mennonite population in the country to almost 1,200. With the help of the M.C.C. a 1,819 hectare ranch was purchased near Tres Bocas and the

Gartental settlement established by new arrivals as well as some of those who had not received land in the first colony. Delta (named after the homeland Vistula Delta) was established in 1955 on 1,314 hectares 97 kilometres north west of Montevideo.

During this time an increasing number of Mennonites moved into Montevideo itself. In 1956 a seminary was established in the Uruguayan capital, a number of Mennonite groups combining efforts for this project.

The main group organized as the Conference of Mennonite Churches in Uruguay. In 1957 it had four congregations, El Ombu (255 members), Gartental (249), Montevideo (200) and Delta (120) for a total of 809 baptized members. Mennonite Brethren membership, derived principally from the Polish refugees, was 91. Total Mennonite population was about 1,300.

With the downturn in the economy of Uruguay a number of Mennonites have left the country, so that in 1978 there were just under 1,000. In 1988 total Mennonite church membership (including mission churches) was 1,005, declining to 887 by 1994.

MENNONITE COLONIES IN MÉXICO
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MENNONITE COLONIES NORTH OF ALVARO OBREGÓN
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SWIFT CURRENT AND MANITOBA COLONIES
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MENNONITE COLONIES IN NORTH WEST CHIHUAHUA
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LAS VIRGINIAS COLONY
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DURANGO COLONY
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NUEVO PROGRESO COLONY
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Most Mennonites currently living in México have emigrated from Canada or are descendents of these emigrants. A few families have come from the United States and Russia. The Mennonites are largely agrarian people, the colonies consisting mostly of farm villages.

Altogether almost 7,000 Mennonites emigrated from Russia to Manitoba between 1874 and 1880. Bergthal and Kleine Gemeinde immigrants occupied most of the East Reserve, Chortitza and Fuerstenland colonists (subsequently these two groups were known as Altkolonier or Old Colony Mennonites) moved to the western part of the West Reserve. Later about half of the Bergthaler resettled to the eastern part of the West Reserve. Especially in the West Reserve attempts were made to re-establish the closed autonomous colonies which had been typical of life in Russia.

As early as 1880 it became apparent, however, that the Mennonites would not be able to live in complete isolation. That year the Manitoba provincial legislature made provision for the beginning of municipal government. This left local matters largely to local control, the government acting only in a supervisory capacity. In the East Reserve the transition went relatively smoothly, but the Altkolonier of the West Reserve refused to cooperate.

The Manitoba Schools Act was passed in 1890; among other things it stipulated that public schools should be nonsectarian and should use English as the language of instruction. Many of the more conservative Mennonites considered this to be a breech of contract and an imposition by the government which seriously threatened their way of life and faith.

With the onset of World War I the Mennonites found themselves to be conscientious objectors, with German language and culture in a country where there was increasing nationalism and anti-German sentiment. The Manitoba government used the opportunity to pass the School Attendance Act in 1916, making school attendance mandatory.

Realizing that the government was not likely to change its position, and at the same time finding a shortage in Canada of large blocks of available land, the Altkolonier started to look for other options. In July 1919, at conferences held in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, they decided that emigration was the answer. Immediate steps were taken to find a suitable tract of land in a country which would guarantee them appropriate conditions regarding religion, language and schools. Various places were considered, including Brazil, United States, Quebec and México. A delegation left for México in early 1921, negotiating with officials and inspecting various regions. On September 6, 1921, the Manitoba Altkolonier purchased 60,000 hectares of land in Chihuahua state (Manitoba Colony). Swift Current delegates purchased an adjacent tract of 30,000 hectares (Swift Current Colony). The price of each was $20.40 U.S. gold per hectare.

The Altkolonier then needed to sell their land in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. At first they wanted to sell all the land as a package, but when land prices dropped this was not possible. Eventually many people simply sold their farm possessions in private sales and departed without having sold the land. In early March, 1922, four trainloads from Manitoba and two from Swift Current travelled the eight day trip to México, where they reached the small cattle station of San Antonio de los Arenales (now called Cuauhtémoc). The migration continued periodically in 1923, 1924 and 1925, with a few stragglers coming during the following decade.

A small portion of the Rosthern (Hague-Osler) Altkolonier settled in Durango in 1924. One group purchased 1,213 hectares in the Valle de Guatimape. The area was gradually expanded as a total of 950 migrants eventually arrived. By the time the majority of the Hague-Osler group was ready to leave Canada they had heard of the hardship of pioneering in México. Besides, they were tolerating the school system with only little aggravation, so most of this Altkolonier colony remained in Saskatchewan.

Sommerfelder of the West Reserve, also having their appeals for retention of private schools denied, began making plans to leave Manitoba. An original contract was made for the purchase of 4,850 hectares in the state of Chihuahua near the Altkolonier colonies, with an option for an additional 20,000 hectares. Eventually three trains of Sommerfelder left Manitoba between October 16 and November 11, 1922, bound for Agua Nueva, 100 kilometres north of the city of Chihuahua. From there a wagon road snaked 65 kilometres up a canyon to their lands at Santa Clara.

Altogether a total of about 7,000 Mennonites emigrated to México in the 1920s, all but a few hundred coming from Canada.

During World War II the question of military service again became an issue in Canada. Most Canadian Mennonites eligible for the draft eventually were able to perform alternate service. There were Mennonite groups who felt, however, that they were interested in more concrete guarantees of non-combatant status for any future wars. After the conclusion of World War II parts of the Sommerfelder, Altkolonier and Kleine Gemeinde searched for a country that would answer their needs. The Sommerfelder migrated to Paraguay, while the Altkolonier and Kleine Gemeinde chose México. Together they purchased 21,300 hectares of land to found the Quellenkolonie (Los Jagueyes Colony) in Chihuahua state. The migration began in 1948, 76 Kleine Gemeinde families and 38 Altkolonier families arriving in that year. In all about 800

Mennonites moved to México during the post war era, most coming from Canada.

The Nordkolonie (Ojo de la Yegua Colony) was also founded in 1948, largely by combining existing Mennonite settlements in the area.

After 1948 there has been much migration back and forth, to and from Canada, as well as migration to other Central and South American countries. Other areas of México have also been the sites of new development. There are seven colonies in the north west Chihuahua: Buenos Aires (1959), El Capulin (1962), El Cuervo (1978), Las Virginias (1980), Buena Vista (1984), Sabinal (1990) and La Sombra. Las Virginias has 16 villages on 9,635 hectares. Churches are located in Weidenfeld (4) and Kronsgart (15). Gnadenthal (5) has three stores, a school and a medical clinic. There are three colonies in Tamaulipas, Nueva Padilla, Villa de Casas and Gonzalez, and three in Campeche, Yalnón (1983), Chavi (1986) and Nuevo Progreso (1987). Nuevo Progreso consists of 12 villages, with churches in Gruenthal (2) and Hamburg (6). There are two cheese factories, one furniture factory and one metal workshop in the colony.

Total Mennonite population in México has fluctuated considerably throughout the years. There has been increasing difficulty obtaining blocks of land to meet agricultural needs, as well as a downturn in the economy and drought in some areas. People have established new colonies in other Latin American countries such as Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina and Belize. A total of perhaps 10,000 have migrated back to Canada, mainly to southern Manitoba and especially southern Ontario. Despite these losses, population remains high and new colonies have been formed. Currently there are 24 colonies in six states with an estimated population of 50,000 to 55,000 persons.

MENNONITE COLONIES IN PARAGUAY

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The first Mennonites migrated to Paraguay from Canada in late 1926. Conservative groups found lack of control over their schools to be unacceptable. They also had some fears regarding absolute religious freedom and guarantees of the non-resistant status in Canada. Old Colony Mennonites had already migrated to México, but Paraguay offered the same guarantees. These guarantees have continued, and so Mennonite migration has continued throughout the years, both into and out of Paraguay.

The first group of 309 Old Colony people left Manitoba on November 24, 1926, arriving in Puerto Casado on December 31. Eventually, a total of 266 families came, consisting of 1,763 individuals. Unfortunately the land promised in the Chaco had not been surveyed as yet, so the colonists had to wait one and a half years before they could actually homestead. By that time 168 people had died, many had returned to Canada, leaving about 1,300 persons to settle in 14 villages to establish the Menno Colony. Early times were difficult, the Chaco climate and long distances from markets were principal drawbacks.

Of the 3,885 Mennonite refugees accepted by Germany from Moscow in 1929, about 1,580 settled in Paraguay. With the help of the M.C.C. and the German government they eventually arrived at their designated area west of the Menno Colony in April, 1930. There they established the Fernheim Colony, consisting of 13 villages. In 1932 an additional 375 refugees from Harbin joined Fernheim, establishing an additional four villages.

When the Mennonites originally settled in the Chaco the territory was still in dispute, both Paraguay and Bolivia claiming the region. The Chaco War broke out in June of 1932. At stake was Bolivian access to the ocean through ports on the Paraguay River, but also possession of the Chaco itself, which now was no longer a worthless wasteland, but known to be capable of sustaining human life. While the non-resistant Mennonites did not actively participate in the war, some of the major battles were fought in and around their colonies. Cannon fire could easily be heard from the colonies during the heavy fighting which occurred during the Paraguayan capture of the Bolivian occupied forts at Toledo and Boquerón. Eventually Bolivian forces were pushed back out of the Chaco. A truce was declared June 12, 1935, and the final peace treaty was signed July 21, 1938 in Buenos Aires. Paraguay gained a clear title to most of the disputed area of the Chaco.

But the heat, drought and sandstorms continued to make life in the Chaco difficult. In 1937 a number of settlers in Fernheim Colony felt that conditions were better in East Paraguay. A total of 748 people founded Friesland 50 kilometres east of the port of Rosario. This area had more rain, fruits and vegetables grew well, but access to markets was still a considerable problem.

After World War II somewhat over 12,000 Mennonite refugees of the Great Trek remained in the Allied Zones. They were eventually maintained in camps operated by the M.C.C. Of these about 6,000 emigrated to Canada and most of the remainder to South America. In 1947-48 a total of 2,472 persons came to the Chaco where they founded the Neuland Colony south of Fernheim. Besides the stern climatic conditions the situation for these settlers was aggravated by the fact that fully 40% of the families had no fathers, many having been taken in the Soviet Union.

Part of the same migration in 1947 settled 1,825 people in East Paraguay to found the Volendam Colony. It is located 22 kilometres north east of Rosario near the Paraguay River. Pioneering was difficult because the primeval forest was hard to clear.

In 1948 further immigrants arrived from Canada belonging to the Sommerfelder and Bergthaler churches. Most came from Manitoba, 740 from the East Reserve, 764 from the West Reserve and 140 from Saskatchewan. They settled on 45,000 hectares of land about 200 kilometres east of Asunción. Bergthal Colony was founded by settlers from the East Reserve and occupied the northern part. Sommerfeld Colony was founded by those from the West Reserve and Saskatchewan and occupied the southern part of the land.

In 1966 a small group from Bergthal and Sommerfeld, who found the mechanization of the farm operations too worldly, moved south to found the Reinfeld Colony. Eleven families settled on 600 hectares of land to farm using horse- drawn plows and buggies. Currently Reinfeld has 140 inhabitants.

Luz y Esperanza was founded in 1967 by a group of Beachy Amish from the U.S.A. They settled near the highway connecting Asunción to Brazil beside the Bergthal Colony. Designated in part for the purpose of doing mission work, it currently has 151 settlers.

Agua Azul was established in 1969 by a conservative group of Old Mennonites from the U.S.A. Twelve families obtained 1,900 hectares of land along the highway connecting Coronel Oviedo and Salto del Guaira. Originally there were 140 settlers, currently there are 147.

Rio Verde was settled in 1969 by immigrants from México who came to Paraguay because land was increasingly difficult to obtain in their homeland. A total of 20,526 hectares were purchased by the colony, another 6,000 privately. The land was laid out into 18 villages, although only eleven were initially occupied. By 1995 almost all of the farmsteads were filled and the total number of inhabitants was 2,836.

Tres Palmas was officially founded in 1970, although the beginnings came in 1961 with establishment of a small village, Lucero. A group of more progressive people from Bergthal found it easier to seek spiritual

renewal separated from their home colony. They were joined by others from a number of Paraguayan colonies as well as people from foreign countries. In 1984 there were 300 settlers, by 1987 it was only 250, and in 1995 it was down to 182.

Santa Clara consists of one village founded in 1972 north of Rio Verde by Sommerfelder from the Santa Clara Colony in México. Originally 163, there were 238 inhabitants in 1995.

Rio Corrientes was founded in 1975 on the same road as Agua Azul is located, also by Old Mennonites from the U.S.A. Located 120 kilometres closer to Asunción, it was begun by four families who purchased 1,800 hectares of land. In 1987 the colony had 180 inhabitants. By January 1, 1995 this was down to 73 inhabitants, and they were preparing to move back to the U.S.A., dissolving the colony.

The village Florida was established near Luz y Esperanza in 1976 by a group of Amish from the U.S.A. In 1995 there were 137 people in the village.

Nuevo Durango was founded near the Brazilian border by Mennonites from México in 1978. The original purchase by the delegates from the Durango (Hague) colony was 7,500 hectares. The settlement did very well despite the fact that their tractors could not have rubber tires.In 1994 a substantial number moved to Bolivia to found the Durango Colony south of Santa Cruz, largely because of a dispute regarding electrification. Nonetheless, the population January 1, 1995 stood at 2,850.

Campo Alto was established in 1980 near Nuevo Durango by a group of 70 settlers. Originally from México, they were uncomfortable in Belize, then moved into an isolated area in East Paraguay. Demanding a simple life style they tolerate no motors and work the land only with horses. In 1987 there were 125 settlers. At the end of 1994 this colony was dissolved, the remaining 55 people moving to Santiago del Estero in Argentina.

La Montaña was founded in the southern part of East Paraguay just north of Encarnación by immigrants from the U.S.A. The original 35 settlers in 1982 increased to almost 100 by 1987, and to 155 by 1995.

Manitoba was begun by immigrants from México in 1983 on 1,100 hectares of land. Situated between Santa Clara and Rio Verde Colonies, the 502 residents have much in common with the Rio Verde settlers.

Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, is currently the home of about 890 Mennonites. Originally most Mennonites in the city were on colony business or were students, but now many church conference activities are carried on. There is a General Conference and a Mennonite Brethren congregation (worshipping together), there are two Bible schools as well as a school for German speaking and two for Spanish speaking children. Each of the major colony cooperatives has a retail outlet in Asunción.

A number of colonies and church groups work together to run the Hospital Mennonita located 81 kilometres east of Asunción (and therefore is commonly known as "Kilometre 81"). It serves as a leprosy follow-up facility for a large part of East Paraguay and sections of the northern Chaco, but also treats ordinary medical and surgical patients.

The Transchaco highway was built in part to allow the Chaco Mennonite colonies more direct access to Asunción. At first a dirt road which became incredibly muddy in rainy weather, it is now paved the entire distance. This allows the Chaco colonies direct and easy access to markets and greatly helps their economic development.

Total Mennonite population in Paraguay is now 27,210, located in 18 colonies and in Asunción. Size varies from the Menno Colony with 8,042 inhabitants to those which consist of a single isolated village. Orientation spans the spectrum from the most conservative who plow with horses and drive with buggies to the modern who have direct distance dialing via microwave towers and transport their produce on large Volvo trucks.

BERGTHAL COLONY
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SOMMERFELD COLONY
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During and after World War II a number of conservative Mennonite churches in Canada felt that they needed to separate themselves more widely from the world which was encroaching on their lives. In 1946 the Sommerfelder and Chortitzer Churches sent three representatives to Paraguay to investigate the possibility of emigration. They were not impressed by the Chaco, but found a tract of land in East Paraguay which seemed suitable. They purchased 45,000 hectares of land located 35 kilometres east of Caaguazú, a full 200 kilometres from Asunción.

The Dutch ship "Volendam" was leased for $315,000, so that the immigrants could take their baggage with them. On board were 1,644 Mennonites, 740 Chortitzer from the East Reserve, 764 Sommerfelder from the West Reserve and 140 Bergthaler from Saskatchewan. The "Volendam" anchored in Buenos Aires on June 25, 1948, and from there the immigrants proceeded to Asunción, most by riverboat, some by train, then to Villarrica by train. Here they stopped, because there was no road to their land.

The group first stayed in an empty factory in Villarrica, then lived in tents for some time. Meanwhile 100 men spent two months of hard work to carve a road through 30 kilometres of dense forest. Finally on January 14, 1949 the first group moved onto their new homeland. The settlers were disappointed in the land, since it was forested, hilly and partially swampy, rather than the grassy plains that the delegates thought they had purchased. The heat, insects and especially the childrens' diseases made circumstances difficult. Between 1948 and 1950 about 600 people returned to Canada.

Despite adversity, courage and mutual help eventually prevailed to improve the conditions. A church fund was established to enable those with more wealth to help the poor. Most settlers had sufficient capital for the early times, since they had sold their farms in Canada at good prices. They also brought equipment from Canada, including 13 tractors and a bulldozer. Agriculture helped the economy to stabilize, with wheat, soybeans, cotton, corn and oats being some of the crops grown. Settlers of both colonies combined to form a cooperative creamery. The highway connecting Asunción toFoz do Iguazú now passes through the colonies, allowing such products as milk and cheese easy access to markets.

BERGTHAL

Bergthal Colony was established by the Chortitzer from the East Reserve on about 11,000 hectares of the northern part of the original tract. In 1952 there were, taking into account return migration to Canada, but also natural increase, a total of 117 families with 639 people. There were seven villages, Chortitz (3) being the administrative centre.

Now a hospital is situated in Winkler (10), and there is a cooperative with several other businesses in the area. In 1991 the village of Neu-Bergthal (17) was established about 60 kilometres south west of the main colony, with 20 families living on 2,500 hectares of land. Construction of hydro-electric projects, with the formation of a reservoir for the Yacyreta Dam, has flooded some of the northern border of the colony.

January 1, 1995 Bergthal had 18 villages, a total of 1,870 inhabitants, occupying about 13,500 hectares of land.

Luz y Esperanza in 1967 and Florida in 1976 were founded by Amish immigrants from the U.S.A. Luz y Esperanza is on land

bought from Sommerfeld.

SOMMERFELD

Sommerfeld Colony was organized on the southern 34,000 hectares of the original tract by the Sommerfelder from the West Reserve. In 1952 there were 119 families in nine villages. Sommerfeld sold 2,147 hectares of land to the Amish Colony Luz y Esperanza, and another 261 hectares to the government to allow right of way for a highway and electric power lines. Currently the colony has 23 villages on 31,427 hectares with a total population of 2,620 (1995). "Ruta International", the highway connecting Asunción to Foz do Iguazú runs through the most northern village of Altona (8). Administration offices and a hosptial are located in the village of Sommerfeld (2). A cooperative store also serves the colony inhabitants. There are three areas of native land claims in territory originally sold to Sommerfeld.

FERNHEIM COLONY
(by Ingrid Epp, Asunción)
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Of the 3,885 Mennonite refugees accepted by Germany from Moscow in 1929, about 1,580 chose to settle in Paraguay, since Canada allowed only the most healthy ones to enter. With the help of the M.C.C. they eventually arrived at their designated area west of the Menno Colony in April of 1930. The first group crossed the ocean on a German vessel "Bayern", then transferred to river boat in Buenos Aires. Up the Paraguay River they disembarked at Puerto Casado, then were transported by railway for 145 kilometres, followed by a 100 kilometre trek westward on oxcarts provided by the Menno Colony.

Fernheim was established by these refugees, and consisted of 13 villages with Filadelfia laid out as the centre of the colony. In 1932 an additional 375 refugees from Harbin in China joined Fernheim, establishing another four villages. In all 2,176 Mennonites migrated to Fernheim from 1930 to 1934.

In 1937 about one-third of the population, finding the climate too severe, the economic opportunities too bleak and the cooperative too restricting, moved to East Paraguay and founded the Friesland Colony.

Economic conditions were difficult in the early years. After procuring lines of credit to buy agricultural machinery and to expand industry, the colony developed rapidly and soon was flourishing. Now the beef and dairy industry are the most important, although peanuts and cotton are still grown. Filadelfia has a flourishing creamery as well as large plants to process peanuts and cotton. The economic backbone of the colony is the cooperative where farmers sell their produce and buy almost anything from spools of thread to tractors. A new supermarket is a recent addition to the services available.

Currently there are eight churches in Filadelfia. The Mennonite Brethren first organized on June 9, 1930 at a meeting in Gnadenheim attended by 55-60 members. Isaak Braun was elected leader. Soon groups were meeting in Schoenwiese, Lichtfelde and Orloff. The first two combined to build a sanctuary in Filadelfia in 1945, then an enlarged structure seating 1,000 in 1950. The Mennonite Church first met June 30, 1930. Initial membership was 400 and the first leader was Johann Bergmann. After considerable discussion a building was erected in Filadelfia in 1950, the church at the time having 330 members. A new and larger sanctuary was dedicated in 1980.

Filadelfia has a teacher training school, a high school and two primary schools. Microwave towers connect its telephone system to Asunción. Radio Station ZP-30 broadcasts to Mennonites, but also includes time for mission work. There is a well staffed and well equipped hospital, an excellent mental health centre, and a home for senior citizens. A print shop, bookstore, library and archival centre serve the colony. Hotel Florida allows visitors air-conditioned comfort.

Prosperity of the colony and opportunity for work has drawn neighbouring Indians to the area, principal tribes being the Lengua and Chulupi. A number of Indian villages are spread throughout Fernheim. In a larger settlement, Yalve Sanga, adjacent to the southern part of Fernheim, the Mennonites provide schools, medical facilities and help for agricultural development.

Currently there are 26 villages in Fernheim, with a total population, in 1995, of 3,361.

FRIESLAND COLONY
(by Gerhard Ratzlaff, Asunción)
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Friesland was the first Mennonite colony to be established in East Paraguay and was founded in September, 1937 by 144 families totalling 748 persons. The settlers were from the Fernheim Colony of the Chaco and came for various reasons. Many felt that there was no economic future in the Chaco, and the climate with its hot summers and raging sandstorms was unbearable. A number of the Fernheim villages were too densely populated, so that if people had to move in any case, why not to East Paraguay? Some people also felt uneasy about the cooperative system, since this certainly restricted private enterprise.

In June, 1937, a total of 6,911 hectares were purchased from Wilhelm and Arthur Strauch of Montevideo for the price of 10 pesos per hectare, payable in seven years. The land was situated about 50 kilometres east of the port of Rosario and over 100 kilometres directly northeast of Asunción. In September, 1937, nine villages were laid out on the colony land, with 146 farmsteads. The colony was named Friesland in honour of the ancestral home of their Anabaptist forefathers in the faith.

The early pioneering years were difficult, particularly since there was no marketable commodity to sell. Despite this there was expansion of the area of the colony by additional land purchases, 755 hectares in 1946, 133 hectares in 1952 and the neighbouring Hutterite Colony of Primavera with 10,175 hectares in 1961. Five additional villages were established on the newly acquired land, Hohenau (11), Ibate (12), Isla Margarita (13), Tirol (14) and Gruenau (15). In 1984 and 1985 additional land was purchased some distance from the colony (not shown on the map), bringing the total to 24,000 hectares.

With increased opportunity for migration in the 1950s a considerable number of Friesland settlers opted to leave, moving to Brazil, Canada and Germany. Gruenfeld (4) was completely abandoned, but other villages also lost inhabitants. In 1987 there were 725 people in Friesland. January 1, 1995, there were 710 people living in 14 villages, occupying 27,281 hectares colony land and additional 10,000 hectares private land.

Church life has always been important in Friesland. The Mennonite Brethren organized in Grossweide (2) on October 3, 1937 with 153 members. Kornelius Voth served as leading minister from 1937 to 1957. First meeting in a schoolhouse, the congregation built a new church in Rueckenau (5) in 1952. The Mennonite congregation organized on October 10, 1937 with 166 members, the first leader being Abram Penner. In 1987 there were 280 members, with the congregation centred in Central (3). In 1995 total church membership in the colony was 426, representing 60% of the population.

Schools were built almost immediately, and eventually six villages had them. In time, particularly after a gift of two school buses in 1975, they were consolidated to a single nine grade school in the village of Central (3). The colony also has a good 24-bed hospital, a senior citizens' home and

a cooperative. A diesel electricity generating plant was in use until 1988, when Friesland joined the national electrical network.

Friesland is known for having introduced wheat into Paraguay. From a plot of 30 hectares in 1959, Friesland in time became the designated seed grain area for the whole country. Farmers are able to produce two crops a year, with wheat commonly grown in winter and soybeans in summer. Raising of cattle is also important, the colony having a total of 28,000 head.

MENNO COLONY NORTH
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MENNO COLONY SOUTH
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The first Mennonites migrated to Paraguay from Canada in late 1926. Since the Manitoba government would not allow them complete control over schools, many conservative Mennonites decided that emigration was the best option. Old Colony Mennonites had already emigrated to México, but Paraguay also offered the same guarantees of control over schools including language of instruction as well as complete religious freedom and non-resistant status.

The first group of 309 people left Manitoba on November 24, 1926, and arrived at Asunción on December 29. They were welcomed by President Eligio Ayala, then travelled on to reach Puerto Casado on December 31. Over the next ten months a total of seven groups came to Paraguay, Chortitzer from the East Reserve of Manitoba, Sommerfelder from the West Reserve and Bergthaler from Saskatchewan. Unfortunately the land promised in the Chaco had not been surveyed as yet, so the colonists had to wait in Puerto Casado for one and a half years. During this time 168 people died, many from typhoid fever, some of starvation. Becoming discouraged, a considerable number returned to Canada. Of the original 1,763 immigrants, about 1,300 persons were left to settle on the land. First they travelled 70 kilometres by narrow-gauge railroad, then across land another 100 kilometres. In September, 1928, they finally settled in the Chaco to form the Menno Colony. Total land initially occupied was 5,625 hectares in the shape of a long rectangle. The western three-quarters was settled by the Chortitzer who represented the greater portion of the immigrants and founded 11 villages. The Sommerfelder and Bergthaler occupied the eastern end, where they established three villages.

Heat, drought, sandstorms, ants, and grasshoppers gave the Chaco the appropriate name of "green hell." Combined with a long distance to markets, circumstances in the early times were very difficult.

A central headquarters for the colony was established in 1937-38, with a building constructed to house the official offices the following year. Initial name of this village was Sommerfeld, which was later changed to the Spanish Loma Plata. In 1943 more land was purchased and new villages begun south east of the original settlement. In 1949 additional villages were established in South Menno, on land purchased about 100 kilometres south of the main colony. In 1950 the total population was 3,370 with 560 families living in 52 villages. The primary economic base was agriculture, with cotton, peanuts as well as dairy products and livestock the principal sources of income.

Initially the Chortitzer, Sommerfelder and Bergthaler kept some aspects of church life separate, but in a few years they joined to form one church body. Now they are divided into nine local congregations, each with its own leader, together forming the Conference of Mennonite Churches in Menno. Missions activity among the surrounding Indian people began in 1952. A Bible school helps train people for church work.

From being conservative people who felt education to be a threat, Menno inhabitants have undergone a surprising change. There are nine primary schools spread throughout the colony, with a high school in Loma Plata. An agricultural school with 40 students serves all the major colonies.

A hospital was completed in Loma Plata in 1948. With the recent addition of a new wing to the hospital, the Menno Colony has an excellent medical facility capable of managing most medical and surgical patients. A large home for senior citizens helps care for the older colonists.

Key to the industrial and agricultural development of the colony is the Chortitzer Cooperative, headquarters located in Loma Plata. This centre also has a modern creamery (which produces about 50,000 litres of sterilized milk per day), four furniture factories, a peanut crushing plant and a cotton processing plant. Electricity is generated by a wood-gas plant, said to be the largest of its kind in the world. Produce is hauled to market by a fleet of Volvo trucks which are in radio communication with a trouble-shooting repair vehicle available 24 hours a day.

Current population of the Menno Colony is about 8,042 people, in 95 villages occupying a total of 420,000 hectares of land.

NEULAND COLONY
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After World War II somewhat over 12,000 Mennonite refugees of the Great Trek remained in the Allied Zones. They were eventually maintained in camps operated by the M.C.C. In February, 1947, a group of 2,306 refugees landed in Buenos Aires, from which they were to be transported to the Chaco. After some had left for Paraguay a revolution broke out in the country, and river passage to the Chaco was blocked. One group had to wait in Asunción, the other in Buenos Aires. During this time a large portion of the people, having heard of the difficulties of settlement in the Chaco, wished to move elsewhere. Eventually this group settled in East Paraguay to form the Volendam Colony. The smaller part of this first contingent, totalling 863 people, opted for the Chaco. In time they were joined by more refugees from Europe to total 2,474 people. The M.C.C. had purchased a land complex of 74,000 hectares south of the Fernheim Colony as the site of the new colony.

The first organizational meeting was held in Filadelfia on June 4, 1947, chaired by the Fernheim *Oberschulze* Bernhard Wall. The new immigrants elected an organizing committee which was given the task of planning and founding the first three villages of the colony, Neu-Halbstadt, Neuendorf and Einlage. It was not until January 22, 1949 that the actual colony administration was elected. First called "New Settlement near Fernheim", it was at this meeting that the colony was officially named Neuland. By that time there were 27 villages with 2,256 inhabitants. A number of immigrants originally planning to move to Neuland remained in Fernheim or moved elsewhere.

Besides the stern climatic conditions common to the Chaco, the situation for these settlers was aggravated by the fact that many fathers and grown sons had remained in the Soviet Union or had been killed in the war. At a meeting of heads of families held on September 30, 1947, 52 women and 30 men were present. Fully 40% of families had no fathers to head the families. The M.C.C., various churches, relatives, as well as the neighbouring Fernheim and Menno Colonies helped the new pioneers.

In 1953 a massive migration out of Neuland began. The difficult pioneering times were taking their toll, especially on widows and their families. Many people had relatives in Canada, so a large group migrated there. Neulanders had obtained German citizenship while they were refugees, so a number returned to Germany. From a population of 2,553 in 1953, this

dropped to just over a thousand.

Despite difficult climate and the loss of population through emigration, Neuland did make progress. In 1952 a high school was established, and in 1953 the Concordia Hospital was built. Neu-Halbstadt is the major business and administrative centre, with the cooperative being located there to help the economic development of the colony. Neuland has a General Conference and a Mennonite Brethren church, both buildings located in Neu-Halbstadt. The Mennonite Brethren have just built a beautiful new sanctuary.

In 1995 the 22 villages of the Neuland Colony had a total population of 1,555.

NUEVO DURANGO COLONY
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Nuevo Durango was founded near the Brazilian border in East Paraguay by Old Colony Mennonites from México in 1978. The orignal purchase by the delegates from the Durango (Hague) Colony was 13,800 hectares. Despite tremendous difficulty in clearing the dense jungle and considerable trouble getting produce to market because of the remote location, the colony did well. By the end of 1995, the 2,042 inhabitants living in 24 villages occupied about 19,200 hectares of land.

Principal activity is agriculture, crops being wheat, oats, barley, cotton, soya beans and sugar cane. Cattle for milk and beef, and pigs are also raised. A cooperative is located on two sites, Schoenthal (3) and Schoenfeld (9). There are seven cheese factories, five sawmills, and two furniture factories. A hospital in Lowe Farm (9 1/2), staffed by a young self-taught "doctor", manages the delivery of births, as well as other assorted diseases and injuries. There is also a small bookstore in Lowe Farm.

Colony business is managed by two *Vorsteher*. Elections, held by the male church members, are for two-year terms, with three consecutive terms the limit. Excuse from service is granted only by the *Aeltester*.

Church life is regulated by two *Aeltester* and eight ministers, candidates again being elected by the male church members. There are four church buildings in the colony, with services held every Sunday morning, beginning around sunrise. Ministers conducting these services rotate through all four churches. In 1991 the single colony deacon dispersed 16,000,000 guarani of colony funds to the needy, supplemented by 5,000,000 guarani gathered at collections held on communion Sundays and Thanksgiving.

There are no automobiles nor trucks in Nuevo Durango, no motor bikes or bicycles. Anything with motive power is on steel wheels, including tractors and self-propelled combines. Trailers are on rubber tires. Electricity can be used, but no light bulbs of any kind. Many of the villages are served by the national grid; preachers are not allowed to hook up. Young ladies wear straw hats with wide black ribbons, those who are more adventuresome risk dark brown.

In 1994 and 1995 a number of people left the colony because of disunity in the church—meaning variations on the theme of extreme conservatism. In 1993, there were 3,042 people in the colony, decreasing to 2,850 in 1994 and down to 2,042 by the end of 1995. Many moved to Bolivia to found the new Durango Colony south of Santa Cruz, some joined the Chihuahua Colony also in Bolivia, others went to Argentina.

In 1995 there were 94 births, seven deaths, leaving the population at 2,042. Church membership stood at 693, 14 having been baptized that year, and nine couples married.

RIO VERDE COLONY
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Rio Verde was settled in 1969 by Old Colony immigrants who came to Paraguay because land was increasingly difficult to obtain in México. A total of 20,526 hectares were purchased by the colony in East Paraguay, another 6,000 were obtained privately. The land was laid out into 18 villages, although only 11 were initially occupied. The main colony lay to the east of the local highway, but in time the land west of the road, called Colonia México, was officially included. By 1992, the 2,774 inhabitants lived in 28 villages on 26,876 hectares of land. On January 1, 1995, there were 2,836 people in Rio Verde.

Crops grown by the farmers of the colony include wheat, oats, barley, corn, soya beans, beans and cotton. Cattle also produce milk. A small cooperative is situated in Hochfeld (7), and there is a credit union. There are at least 14 retail stores in the colony, 16 sawmills, 14 furniture factories, 11 metal workshops, five cheese factories and one grain mill.

There are two *Vorsteher* for Colonia México and two for the colony east of the highway, elected by a meeting of the male church members. They may be in office for three terms of two years.

Church affairs are regulated by an *Aeltester* and eight ministers (also elected, but with life-time appointments). In 1991 the deacon paid out 7,000,000 guarani from colony coffers for those in need. Collections are held on the two communion Sundays as well as Thanksgiving to supplement these funds. Automobiles and trucks are not allowed, although Paraguayans may drive vehicles owned by Mennonites. The colony has now "put aside" the question of rubber tires, meaning that most people use them. Bicycles, although frowned upon, are also used. Ladies' straw hats have many bright coloured ribbons. While recognizing the need for medical care, the authorities have not seen fit to allow a hospital to be built within the colony.

There are four church buildings, the main sanctuary being in Reinfeld (4), with one additional school used for Sunday services.

Ruta Coronel Ovieda (No.3) is now paved through the colony. Electricity from the national grid is available in all villages. Many are anxious to use it, since it is less expensive than generators, and lighting the houses means more effective use of the evenings for additional work. A company has been formed by five colony members which built a milk processing plant, producing cheese and yogurt. It also sells milk to a factory in San Lorenzo.

At the end of 1995 there were 2,910 people in Rio Verde, 105 were born and nine died during the year. Baptized church membership stood at 1,154, with 51 having been baptized and 27 couples married in 1995.

VOLENDAM COLONY
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In February, 1947, the Dutch ship "Volendam" left Bremerhaven and Amsterdam with 2,306 refugees on board. These refugees had been part of the Great Trek, then in camps sponsored by the M.C.C., now on board a ship headed for Buenos Aires. From there they were to be transported to the Chaco. After a group had left for Paraguay a revolution broke out in that country, and the river passage to the Chaco was blocked. So it was that one group had to wait in Asunción, the other in Buenos Aires. In the meantime a large portion of the people, having heard of the difficulties of settlement in the Chaco, wished to move elsewhere. The M.C.C., through its representative C.A. DeFehr of Winnipeg, looked for a large complex of land in East Paraguay. An area of 25,000 hectares was found 22 kilometres north of Rosario, close to the Paraguay River, adjacent to the port of Mbopicua. At first half, then the whole area was purchased. The colony was named Volendam after the ship which brought most of the settlers from Europe to their new homeland.

Initially 295 families totalling 1,135 people settled in Volendam, but other groups

were added. In 1950 there were 15 villages with 441 families totalling 1,810 people, served by eight elementary schools.

Early times were difficult. Most of the land was heavily forested and had to be cleared by hand. Progress was also slowed by the onset of "Canada fever." When it became possible, a considerable number of settlers emigrated. Between 1947 and 1961 a total of 223 families, 1,281 people emigrated, largely to Canada, decreasing the population to about 800. At times it seemed that the steady outflow threatened the very existence of Volendam.

The Mennonite Church organized on September 7, 1947. Hans P. Epp and Jakob Pries were appointed leaders, with Epp subsequently elected as elder. A beautiful new sanctuary was dedicated in Tiefenbrunn (5) on January 17, 1956. By 1956 membership had climbed to 431, but with emigration dropped to 238 in 1971. Mennonite Brethren originally settled mainly in Schoenwalde (1). The organizational meeting was held November 9, 1947. There was no preacher among the 35 members, so the group asked Friesland ministers to help. In 1951 the Volendam M.B. Church became independent, with Franz Janzen as its own minister. In 1955 a new church building was dedicated in Mariental (12). In 1950 there were 138 members, reduced to 62 by 1962.

Despite initial pioneering hardships and the loss of population through emigration, Volendam is now a prosperous settlement. Tiefenbrunn (5) is the headquarters for most institutions. A hospital was built in 1948. Schools, including a *Zentralschule* serve the educational needs. A cooperative was organized as early as 1947 to help the administrative and economic development of the colony. Puerto Mbopicua on the Paraguay River has been used as a colony outlet for exports such as wood, although there is now direct road access to Asunción.

There are currently 12 villages in Volendam [Schoenwalde (1), Blumenort (15) and Hildesheim (16) have been abandoned], with a total population in 1995 of 751. Present land owned by Volendam, including large sections east of the colony is 37,923.7 hectares. Winter wheat, soybeans and cattle are the principal agricultural commodities produced.

AUSSIEDLER

MENNONITES IN THE U.S.S.R. ABOUT 1970
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AUSSIEDLER MENNONITES IN GERMANY IN 1994
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AUSSIEDLER MENNONITES IN NORTH CENTRAL GERMANY IN 1994
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AUSSIEDLER MENNONITES IN WEST CENTRAL GERMANY IN 1994
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In time, most Mennonites in the Soviet Union gravitated to the south central part of the country. Claas Epp, Jr. originally led a small band of followers to central Asia in the 1880s, the group eventually settling near Dzhambul. During World War II some Mennonites were deported to this area, but after the war many Mennonites voluntarily moved to this region.

During various periods of brutal oppression of Mennonites by the Communist regime, many were banned to northern European Russia to regions surrounding Murmansk, Archangel and Vorkuta, or to the vast expanses of Siberia, even as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. The collectivization process of 1928-31 included disenfranchizing many Mennonite farmers, and the deportation of these "kulaks" with their families.

Many men, but especially religious leaders, were "taken" during the Purge of 1937-38, sent north or east, and were never seen again. Deportation increased drastically following the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941. Assuming that they might be collaborators, as many Mennonites as the Communists could pack onto trains were deported from the regions about to be occupied. They were sent farther east and north; some, such as the Crimeans, were sent largely to south central Russia. In some instances, the advance of the German armies was so fast that Mennonite areas were overrun before the population could be evacuated, so some people were able to stay in their villages. Settlements farther east which were well beyond the front, such as Neu Samara, Orenburg and those around Omsk, remained largely intact.

With a change in the tide of war the German armies were forced into retreat; much of the German population, including 35,000 Mennonites, went with them. Of those on this "Great Trek", at least 20,000 were recaptured, most sent to the Russian north or Siberia.

After the Iron Curtain came down, it was extremely difficult for people to leave the Soviet Union, but with the death of Joseph Stalin in 1953, conditions improved, if even only very slightly. In 1956 movement within the country was allowed, provided people stayed 250 kilometres east of the Volga River. With this liberty, many of the surviving Mennonites left their northern and eastern domiciles and migrated to the Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz and Tadzhik Soviet Republics. Karaganda, Kustanay, Frunze and Dushambe, for example, were cities around which Mennonites clustered.

In the meantime, other developments opened the possibility of Mennonites leaving the Soviet Union. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of the Bundesrepublik made a deal with the Soviets which basically traded technical and economic aid for people of German origin, with special emphasis on reuniting families. Beginning as a trickle, the stream of emigrees eventually became a torrent. At this point, Mennonites, not surprisingly, considered themselves to be of German stock.

From 1950 to 1994, approximately 2.6 million *Aussiedler* (also called *Umsiedler*, emigrated to Germany; of these 553,400 were from the Soviet Union. In 1952 there were only 63, in 1954 there were 18, but from 1971 onward there were usually thousands each year.

By 1996 somewhat over 100,000 people of Mennonite origin have been registered as coming to Germany, although experts feel the number is probably more like 125,000. Many of the Mennonites coming from the U.S.S.R. retained their religious faith. Some had joined Baptist churches, since these were registered, and continued to worship with this denomination in Germany. A considerable number had formed Mennonite congregations in the Soviet Union, most often "*Kirchliche*" (Mennonite) or Mennonite Brethren, and continued in this tradition when they emigrated.

By and large Catholic and Lutheran *Aussiedler* integrated well into the existing German churches, but Baptists and Mennonites did not. While some German congregations retained significant numbers, most *Aussiedler* formed their own churches. In 1996 there are about 200 congregations involving people of Mennonite origin of which approximately 100 are organizationally Mennonite. The maps do not show all of the churches, partly as a result of difficulty obtaining accurate records, but they do show major concentrations in north central and west central Germany. Centres in which a number of churches are clustered are Bielefeld (5), Neuwied (4) and Espelkamp (4).

HUTTERITES

HUTTERITE MIGRATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE
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HUTTERITE SETTLEMENTS IN SIEBENBUERGEN
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HUTTERITE VILLAGES VISHENKA AND RADICHEV
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HUTTERITE VILLAGES NEAR MELITOPOL'
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HUTTERITE VILLAGES NEAR ALEXANDROVSK
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HUTTERITE COLONIES IN CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA
(Page 110)

(By William Schroeder, Winnipeg)

Anabaptist missionaries travelled to various parts of eastern Europe, including Tirol, Carinthia, Austria and Moravia. Among the converts, likely when he was in Klagenfurt, was the hatter, Jacob Hutter. After baptism he soon was confirmed as elder and evangelist, serving a congregation in the Puster Valley. Hutter visited Austerlitz in Moravia, and helped organize bands of refugees who were escaping persecution in the Tirol. In time, most of the Anabaptists in the region, whose particular variant included community of goods, accepted Hutter's leadership. Driven from their homes in Moravia by reluctant nobles who were forced to obey Ferdinand of Austria, a number, including Hutter, returned to the Tirol. He and his wife were captured in Klausen the night of November 19, 1535. After prolonged torture Jacob Hutter was publicly burned February 25, 1536, in Innsbruck.

In Moravia and Slovakia the persecution eased in 1551-1552 and the Brethren entered what came to be known as the Good Period (1554-1565) and then the Golden Period (1565-1592). Soon they had a total of 102 communes and a population of 20,000 to 30,000.

A Turkish War (1593-1606) and the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) brought great hardships for the Hutterian Brethren. By 1781 all the Hutterites in Moravia and Slovakia had been eradicated. Fortunately, a small group had been preserved in Siebenbuergen in Transylvania.

In April, 1621, Gabriel Bethlen (1580-1629), Prince of Transylvania, transported 185 Hutterian refugees on eighteen wagons from Neusohl to Alvinz. They were temporarily sheltered in Radnot, Weissenburg and Badelin. In August, 1621, Susanna Carolina Bethlen allowed the three groups to settle in Alvinz. In 1755, a group of Lutherans were deported from Carinthia and settled in villages near Alvinz. Many of them joined the Hutterian Brethren.

In 1762 Maria Theresa made a renewed attempt to root out Anabaptism. The Hutterites were forced to attend Catholic services. Two of their ministers, Joseph Kuhr (1714-1794) and Johannes Stahl, who refused to comply with these rules, were imprisoned in Klausenburg. In November 1766, they were taken to Sighet and expelled from the country. Kuhr and Stahl walked to Bucharest where they learned that Anabaptists would be tolerated in Walachia (Romania). They secretly returned to Kreuz on August 27, 1767, then planned and directed an escape over the Alps of the remaining 67 persons of the Hutterite community. The day of departure was October 3, 1767. Travelling only at night they crossed the Transylvanian Alps in 14 days. No human lives were lost; only one horse plunged to its death from a cliff. A remnant had been saved!

The Hutterites first settled in Cioragirla and then in Prisiceni a few kilometres south west of Bucharest. Unfortuantely, war between Turkey and Russia broke out again and the Hutterites were harassed by marauding Turkish troops. A representative of General Peter A. Rumiansev (1725-1796) invited the Hutterites to the Rumiansev estate northeast of Kiev. In 1770 the weary Hutterites loaded their few remaining earthly possessions onto two wagons and made their way to Vishenka. When they were safely settled in their new homes one of the ministers went back to Alvinz to retrieve their church records (The Great Chronicle). After the death of Rumiansev they moved to nearby Radichev.

In 1842 Johann Cornies settled the Hutterites in Huttertal, south west of the Molotschna Colony and near Melitopol'. Soon they acquired Johannesruh, a second village in the same area. A decade later they settled three more villages east of Alexandrovsk (Zaporozh'ye).

In the meantime, there had been some changes within the Hutterite community itself. About 1824 the principle of community of goods was abandoned, but then reappeared 40 years later. A group on one end of Huttertal began living communally; its minister was a blacksmith, so this group and subsequent descendants were called *Schmiedleut*. About the same time another group collected around another minister named Darius, later labelled *Dariusleut*. Some Hutterites, however, continued private ownership, but followed the other groups to America, and there re-espoused community of goods. Jacob Wipf, a fully qualified teacher, led this group, so they were called *Lehrerleut*.

Hutterites followed the Mennonites to America in the 1870s, The *Schmiedleut* and *Dariusleut* coming in 1874, the future *Lehrerleut* in 1877. Most settled in South Dakota.

After World War I a considerable portion of the membership moved to Canada because of compulsory conscription practised in the United States. Colonies in both countries flourished and spread to additional states and provinces.

Eberhard Arnold led a Bruderhof movement which established a number of colonies in Germany, one in England, two in New York State, two in Pennsylvania and one in Connecticut. This branch of Hutterites is called *Arnoldleut*. Currently, most of these colonies are "not at peace" with the major group, therefore not officialy part of the organization. There is also a Bruderhof in Japan.

In 1996, there are 432 colonies in central North America with a total population of 37,297. There are 15,200 *Schmiedleut* in 169 colonies, most of them in Manitoba, Alberta and South Dakota. The 12,040 *Dariusleut* are in 145 colonies, largely in Alberta and Saskatchewan. *Lehrerleut* number 10,057, in 118 colonies, largest number in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Montana. There are 315 colonies in Canada, 153 in Alberta, 102 in Manitoba, 59 in Saskatchewan and one in British Columbia. There are 117 in the United States, 54 in South Dakota, 43 in Montana, seven each in Washington and Minnesota, and six in North Dakota.

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GLOSSARY

Arbeitsschule - vocational school

Bruderschule - brotherhood school

Dessiatine - a measure of land area (See Table of Weights and Measures)

Fortbildungsschule - high school level school, attended after completing the primary village school

Grosse Gemeinde - literally "Big Church". Came to mean specifically the Mennonite Church, the original Flemish church

Halbwirtschaft - a half farm, a farmyard with about 32 dessiatines of land

Handelsschule - school of commerce

Kleine Gemeinde - literally "Small Church". Came to mean specifically the group which separated from the main Mennonite Church in 1812

Kleinwirtschaft - a small farm, a farmyard with about 16 dessiatines of land

Oberschulze - district reeve

Scheune - shed

Schulze - mayor of a town or village

Selbstschutz - defensive brigade

Verst - measure of distance (See Table of Weights and Measures)

Vollwirtschaft - a full farm, a farmyard with about 65 dessiatines of land

Volost - administrative district in Russia after 1871

Wirtschaft - farm establishment, usually including a yard with house and barn and varying amounts of land

Zentralschule - high school level school, attended after completing the primary village school

DATES AND CALENDARS

No attempt has been made in this atlas to differentiate or correct dates as to the Julian (Old Style) or Gregorian (New Style) calendars.

The Julian calendar was in common use in Europe after it was authorized by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C., but increasing discrepancy with the seasons was noted. Pope Gregory XIII announced that the day after October 4, 1582 was to become October 15, thereby correcting the calendar by ten days. To prevent any further deviation it was also decreed that adjustments would be made to the leap years. Centennial years would be ordinary years unless they were divisible by 400; 1600 was therefore a leap year, while 1700, 1800 and 1900 were not. This corrects as closely as possible for the accepted actual length of the year, being 365.2422 days.

Most western Catholic countries accepted the Gregorian calendar soon after it was announced, although Protestant states such as Denmark, the Netherlands and northern Germany waited until 1700; Britain finally came on stream in 1752. Because the Gregorian calendar had been promulgated by a Roman Catholic pope it was not accepted by the Russian Orthodox Church and therefore not by Russia.

In the calculation of any accurate historical dates, therefore, one has to know both the date and the country in which the event transpired. Initially the discrepancy was ten days, this changed to 11 on March 1, 1700, then 12 on March 1, 1800, and finally to 13 days after March 1, 1900.

The Julian calendar was in use in Russia until February, 1918, when the revolutionary government decreed a switch. February 1 became February 14, thereby catching up the 13 days. The Russian Orthodox Church, however, still maintained the Julian calendar, and to this day some churches use it.

The early Anabaptists obviously used the Julian calendar, then increasingly after 1582 were in areas of Europe where the Gregorian calendar was in vogue. Mennonites in Prussia definitely used the Gregorian (New Style), but then had to switch to the Julian (Old Style) when they moved to Russia. Because of this peculiarity of dates, some celebrated Easter in Prussia, then celebrated it again some days later in Russia.

After February, 1918, all official documentation in the Soviet Union was according to the Gregorian calendar. Some Mennonites accepted this wholeheartedly and even corrected family records to reflect this change. Others, for various reasons, did not. Some maintained old dates, for example birthdays, simply for sentimental reasons.

For purposes of this atlas no research has been done to determine which dates were used in the earlier Anabaptist periods, nor whether dates have been corrected in family records or other historical documents. It is assumed that primary records, for example those from Russia between 1789 and February, 1918, will have used the calendar in common use in Russia, the Julian (Old Style). All dates following February 14, 1918, are according to the Gregorian (New Style). Dates recorded in North and Latin America, in all time periods, use the Gregorian calendar.

Taken from *Hierschau: An Example of Russian Mennonite Life.*

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

LINEAR MEASUREMENTS

1 Vershok	1/16 Arshin	1.7 Inches	4.4 Cm
1 Arshin	16 Vershok	28.0 Inches	71.12 Cm
1 Sazhen (Faden or Fathom)	3 Arshin	7.0 Feet	213.36 Cm
1 Verst	500 Sazhen (Fathoms)	.663 Miles	1.0668 Km

LAND AREA

1 Dessiatine	2400 Square Sazhen or Fathoms	2.7 Acres	1.0925 Hectares
1 Morgen (Prussian)	.234 Dessiatines	.631 Acres	.255 Hectares

WEIGHTS

1 Zolotnik	1/96 Funt	.33 ozs	4.26 Grams
1 Funt (Russian Pound)	96 Zolotnik	12.0 ozs	409.5 Grams
1 Pood (Pud)	40 Funts	36.11 lbs	16.38 Kg

DRY MEASURES (MOSTLY GRAINS)

1 Chetverik	1/8 Chetvert	.75 Bushels (U.S.)	26.24 Litres
1 Chetvert	8 Chetverik 8 Poods	5.96 Bushels (U.S.)	209.92 Litres
1 Fuder	1 Ladder wagon full		

MONETARY

1 Ruble	100 Kopecks	Value in Canadian and U.S currency has varied from time to time

Specific values of weights and measures used in Russia have varied from time to time. Some eventually were standardized by Imperial decree and thereafter remained unchanged. The values quoted in this table are those which were, according to our best information, in common use in Russia during the time the Mennonites lived there. In 1918 all weights and measures in the Soviet Union were changed to the metric system.

Table taken from *Hierschau: An Example of Russian Mennonite Life.*

INDEX

This index lists all geographical locations for all maps and text. All persons mentioned in the text are indexed, but not those shown only on village maps. Major subjects and events are also listed. Neither "Anabaptist" nor the general term "Mennonite" are included. A few categories of Mennonites are listed, such as Flemish and Frisians, also Kleine Gemeinde, Mennonite Brethren, Mennonite (*Kirchliche*) and Old Colony Mennonites.

The smallest geographical feature indexed is the village or estate. Personal houses, businesses, factories, churches and other institutions on village maps have not been indexed. In some regions the country has not been designated because the borders have changed or are controversial. Where a river enters several countries, none are listed.

Simply to allow general orientation, certainly not to enter into the politics of the region, most features within the former U.S.S.R. have been labelled Russia (Rus).

In listing alphabetically, it is assumed that the whole name is written out, even though we may have used abbreviations. Villages with numbers only are listed as if the numbers were written out, e.g. 75 is Seventy-Five.

All numbers up to and including 110 refer to the maps, all numbers 111 and up are from the text. Bold numbers indicate maps or text dealing principally with that subject. Combined numbers, e.g. 113-117, means that item occurs on each of the pages from 113 to 117.

Abbreviations used:

Alberta - AB
Alt Samara - ASam
Am Trakt - ATra
Argentina - Arg
Arkadak - Ark
Aulie Ata - AuAt
Austria - Aus
Baratov - Bara
Barnaul - Barn
Beglium - Belg
Belize - Belz
Bergthal - Bgth
Boliva - Bol
Borissovo - Bori
Borozenko - Boro
British Columbia - BC
Canada - Can
Chihuahua - Chi
Chortitza - Chor
Crimea - Crim
Del Norte - DNor
Durango - Dur
East Reserve - ER
Fernheim - Fern
Friesland - Fries
Fuerstenland - Fuer
Germany - Ger
Ignatyevo -Ign
Kansas - KS
Kuban - Kub
Las Virginias - LVir
Manitoba (prov) - MB
Manitoba (colony) - Man
Memrik - Mem
Menno North - MeN
Menno South - MeS
México - Mex
Molotschna - Mol
Nepluyevka - Nep
Netherlands - Neth
Neuland -Neul
Neu Samara - NSam
Nordkolonie - NKol
Nuevo Durango - NDur
Nuevo Progreo - NPro
Ontario - ON
Orenburg - Oren
Paraguay - Par
Poland - Pol
Quellenkolonie - Quel
Remecó - Rem
Rio Verde - RVer
Riva Palacios - RPal
Rosthern Reserve - RosR
Russia - Rus
Sagradovka - Sag
Santa Clara - SCla
Santa Rita - SRit
Saskatchewan - SK
Savitaya - Sav
Schlachtin - Schla
Schoenfeld - Schoen
Shipyard - Ship
Shumanovka - Shum
Slavgorod - Slav
Sommerfeld - Som
Suvorovka - Suv
Swift Current - SCur
Swift Current Reserve - SCurR
Switzerland - Switz
Tempelhof - Temp
Terek - Ter
Ukraine - Ukr
U.S.S.R. - Rus
United States of America - USA
Uruguay - Uru
Usman - Usm
Valle Esperanza - VEsp
Vistula Delta - ViDe
Vistula Lowlands - ViLo
Volendam - Vol
Volhynia - Volh
West Reserve - WR
Yazykovo - Yaz

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Province - prov
River - R

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* * * * *

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* * * * *

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